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VOLUME XXVIII

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The English Association

BY

FREDERICK S. BOAS

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PREFACE

IN the list of contributors one change has to be noted as compared with Volume XXVII. Miss Marjorie Daunt, through pressure of other work, has been unable to supply the chapter on 'Old English'. Mr. R. M. Wilson has been good enough to undertake this in addition to the chapter on 'English Language: General Works'.

Three of the contributors now write under higher designations: Miss Dorothy Everett is Reader in English Language in the University of Oxford; Dr. D. J. Gordon is Professor of English Literature in the University of Reading; Dr. V. de S. Pinto is Professor of English Literature in the new University of Nottingham.

In the list of Abbreviations there are a few changes: *Eng. Stud.* now stands for *English Studies* (Groningen) instead of *Englische Studien*, which for the present has ceased to appear, as has also *Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift*, which is therefore omitted. A new addition is *Lang.* for the U.S.A. periodical, *Language*.

F.S.B.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| Archiv. | = Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen |
| B.J.R.L. | = Bulletin of the John Rylands Library. |
| B.M.Q. | = British Museum Quarterly. |
| C.H.E.L. | = Cambridge History of English Literature. |
| C.L.S. | = Comparative Literature Studies (Cardiff). |
| C.U.P. | = Cambridge University Press. |
| D.U.J. | = Durham University Journal. |
| E.E.T.S. | = Early English Text Society. |
| E.L.H. | = A Journal of English Literary History (U.S.A.). |
| Eng. Stud. | = English Studies (Groningen). |
| Etud. ang. | = Études anglaises. |
| H.L.Q. | = Huntington Library Quarterly. |
| J.E.G.P. | = Journal of English and Germanic Philology. |
| J.W.C.I. | = Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes. |
| Lang. | = Language (U.S.A.). |
| Med. Æv. | = Medium Ævum. |
| M.L.N. | = Modern Language Notes. |
| M.L.Q. | = Modern Language Quarterly (U.S.A.). |
| M.L.R. | = Modern Language Review. |
| Mod. Phil. | = Modern Philology. |
| N. and Q. | = Notes and Queries. |
| O.U.P. | = Oxford University Press. |
| P.M.L.A. | = Publications of the Modern Language Association of America. |
| P.Q. | = Philological Quarterly. |
| Q.Q. | = Queen's Quarterly (Kingston, Ont.). |
| Rev. ang.-amér. | = Revue anglo-américaine. |
| Rev. de Litt. Comp. | = Revue de la Littérature Comparée. |
| R.E.S. | = Review of English Studies. |
| R.S.L. | = Royal Society of Literature. |
| S.A.B. | = Shakespeare Association Bulletin (U.S.A.). |
| Sh.-Jahr. | = Shakespeare Jahrbuch. |
| S. in Ph. | = Studies in Philology. |
| Spec. | = Speculum. |
| Stud. Neoph. | = Studia-Neophilologica (Uppsala). |
| T.L.S. | = Times Literary Supplement. |
| U.T.Q. | = University of Toronto Quarterly. |
| Y.W. | = The Year's Work. |

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----|
| I. LITERARY HISTORY AND CRITICISM: GENERAL WORKS | 7 |
| By ETHEL SEATON, M.A., Research Fellow of St. Hugh's College, Oxford | |
| II. ENGLISH LANGUAGE: GENERAL WORKS | 27 |
| By R. M. WILSON, M.A., Lecturer in English Language in the University of Sheffield | |
| III. OLD ENGLISH | 56 |
| By R. M. WILSON. | |
| IV. MIDDLE ENGLISH I. CHAUCER | 67 |
| By DOROTHY EVERETT, M.A., Reader in English Language in the University of Oxford | |
| V. MIDDLE ENGLISH II. BEFORE AND AFTER CHAUCER | 85 |
| By GLADYS D. WILLCOCK, M.A., Professor of English Language and Literature in the University of London (Royal Holloway College) | |
| VI. THE RENAISSANCE | 107 |
| By FREDERICK S. BOAS, LL.D., D.Lit., F.R.S.L. | |
| VII. SHAKESPEARE | 120 |
| By ALLARDYCE NICOLL, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Birmingham | |
| VIII. ELIZABETHAN DRAMA | 140 |
| By FREDERICK S. BOAS | |
| IX. THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD: POETRY AND PROSE. I. THE LATER TUDOR PERIOD | 159 |
| By D. J. GORDON, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of English Literature in the University of Reading | |
| X. THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD: POETRY AND PROSE. II. THE EARLIER STUART AGE AND THE COMMONWEALTH | 164 |
| By L. C. MARTIN, B.Litt., M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Liverpool | |
| XI. THE RESTORATION | 176 |
| By V. DE SOLA PINTO, M.A., D. Phil., F.R.S.L., Professor of English Literature in the University of Nottingham | |

| | |
|---|-----|
| XII. THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY | 191 |
| By EDITH J. MORLEY, M.A., F.R.S.L., Emeritus Professor of English Language in the University of Reading | |
| XIII. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER. I. | 218 |
| By DOROTHY MARGARET STUART, F.R.S.L. | |
| XIV. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER. II | 242 |
| By H. V. ROUTH, D.Litt., F.R.S.L., formerly Byron Professor of English Literature and Institutions in the University of Athens; and FREDERICK S. BOAS | |
| XV. BIBLIOGRAPHICA | 258 |
| By STRICKLAND GIBSON, M.A., formerly Keeper of the University of Oxford Archives | |
| INDEXES | 265 |

I

LITERARY HISTORY AND CRITICISM: GENERAL WORKS

By ETHEL SEATON

The Character of England,¹ edited by Sir Ernest Barker, continues the series, *Shakespeare's England*, *Johnson's England*, and so on, but being 'a monument to the England of these days', it takes on a somewhat different guise. Its aim is 'to describe the spirit of England, rather than all the varied material in which that spirit works', and to keep the happy mean between the 'vice of self-laudation', and the fault—or pose—of 'grumbling self-depreciation'. It deals with the whole community, from the admiral to the fisherman, from Henry V to Bates; its many illustrations certainly point the text, though they cannot be said always to adorn the volume. The chapter-headings give proof of 'varied material': 'Land and People', 'Government', 'Law', 'Industry', 'Science', 'Universities and Scholarship'. One chapter is devoted to 'Language', and three chapters directly involve literature. A play of light flickers over literature throughout the whole book, from the citation of *The Wanderer* by J. and C. Hawkes for the ruins of Roman Bath, to illustrations from Blake and Vaughan in Lady Violet Bonham-Carter's 'Childhood and Education', and to a passage on merchant-venturing from Nicholas Haughton's *Englishmen for my Money*, instead of the opening of *The Merchant of Venice*, in Sir George Schuster's 'Commerce and Finance'.

The completely different approach of the three chapters on literature typifies the free diversity of the writers. James Sutherland, in 'Literature', grapples with the eternal problem. 'What is it in the English mind and character, or in the English way of life' that has proved so propitious to poetry? He finds the answer in the Englishman's closeness (hitherto) to 'those reservoirs from which poetry springs': his reticence, his guarding of the deep wells of unconscious thought, feeling and experience, his 'noble English tradition of business in the daytime and poetry at night'. The sense

¹ *The Character of England*, ed. by Ernest Barker. O.U.P. pp. xii + 595. 30s.

of life, as it is being lived from moment to moment keeps English novels alive in happening and character, and in a special perception of the instinctive workings of the human mind and heart. The same demand for the whole of life gives sanction to the 'mingled drama', and to the easy admission of the eccentric, even of the fantastic, character. Sutherland admits that the puzzled foreigner must remain baffled by our shifting, kaleidoscopic view of life and literature; his own rich variety of criticism and illustration exemplifies his theme.

Basil Willey, on 'Thought', divides his consideration into eight chronological sections, passing, significantly, from thinkers (Hooker, Bacon, Hobbes, the Cambridge Platonists and Locke) to periods and 'ages'. In introducing and concluding, he links the matter-of-factness of English thought with its 'deep sense of moral obligation', and with the sublimity and passionate insight of our poetry.

H. W. Garrod, on 'Humour', takes for his text Froissart's charge that the English take their pleasures sadly, and signalizes in Chaucer the 'loving-kindness of comedy', and the absence of wit. Our *forte*, as Shakespeare's romantic comedy shows, is in humour, tender and serious, poised on a razor-edge between sentimentality and satire. By this test, even Falstaff and Mr. Pickwick fail: 'they are less good, and less English than they should be'. And Restoration Comedy is inadequate, not because it is immoral or non-moral, but because it is inhumane; for wit does not come home to our minds and hearts as does humour. A final paragraph on the place of women in English humour is too summary to be valuable.

William Addison makes an attractive survey of *The English Country Parson*,^a alive in every generation of our literature (Chaucer's poor parson, the Vicar of Wakefield, Parson Adams, Josiah Crawley) as of our life, and often drawing the two together, as did William Harrison of Radwinter, author of *The Description of England*, or George Herbert, conscious of being a 'link in Thy great chain', or Gilbert White of Selborne, or Woodforde and Kilvert the diarists. The rather naïve comment, 'Singularity enough, one of our greatest English poets, John Milton, was on the Puritan side', sufficiently indicates the author's prepossessions, but he

^a *The English Country Parson*, by William Addison, Dent. pp. ix + 246. 16s.

keeps the balance well; he sets Richard Baxter and John Farle together, each recognizing a man and a brother from their opposing camps, reminds us that Traherne was a Puritan, gives impressive praise to the saint of the early Methodists, John Fletcher of Madeley, and quotes Fuller's tribute to a Puritan parson as peaceable, of a cheerful spirit and a gracious heart. This was Jeremy Dyke of Epping, Addison's own ground, and much of his documentation is taken from Essex. He tells the history of the English Church, illustrated by anecdotes of persons and parsons, and has God's plenty to draw on. The 'good man and good scholar' is the ideal, but Addison has much sympathy also for a robust type, as his pleasure in 'Sir John of Enfield' shows. He thinks that the 'squarson' and the sporting parson each has his place, and even his merits; but the revival of the beauty of holiness with Keble was overdue, as the caustic picture of the curates in *Shirley* proves.

A few books deal with literary themes and forms. Virgil B. Heltzel follows down the course of English literature a legend rooted in the English mind, *Fair Rosamond*.⁸ He traces the growth and localization of the story, the accretion of myth in chronicles, the late beginning of literary treatment by the Elizabethan poets, such as Daniel, Drayton and Warner, continuing, and culminating in Mascfield's *Rose of the World*. Numerous chapbooks lead on to novels of the early Romantic period; and from the seventeenth century the story becomes a quarry for opera (such as Addison's) and drama. Heltzel comes at last to the major names of Darley, Tennyson and Swinburne, in whose plays Thomas à Becket usurps the main interest, and so to Maurice Baring's realistic, and Laurence Binyon's idealistic, handling of the tale.

Moody E. Prior's *Language of Tragedy*⁴ is an attempt to establish the relation between the language of verse-plays in English and the dramatic nature of the form. The treatment is chronological, but the aim is selective and critical; the five chapters are supplemented by notes and a careful index. In the prefatory chapter, 'The Nature of the Problem', Prior asserts (as did Ronald Peacock,

⁸ *Fair Rosamond*, by Virgil B. Heltzel. Evanston, Ill. North-Western Univ. Studies in the Humanities, No. 16. pp. viii + 135. \$3.00.

⁴ *The Language of Tragedy*, by Moody E. Prior. New York: Columbia U.P. pp. x + 411. 27s. 6d.

see *X W.*, xxvii, 9) that verse drama is neither a dead issue nor an anachronism, since the resources of diction co-operate with the form and action of tragedy in a probable, even necessary way. In Chapter 2, 'The Elizabethan Tradition', he begins with the critics, from Lamb and Swinburne through Archer and Eliot to Una Ellis-Fermor; the importance of rhetoric and its devices is studied in detail in *The Spanish Tragedy*, and in *Tamburlaine*. In contrast to their comparative rigidity, the imagery of *Romeo and Juliet* 'functions dynamically', and shifts with apparent inconsistency, but real conformity, to the exigencies of the action. There is here no cleavage between Shakespeare the poet and the dramatist, nor in *Lear*, with its uniting ideas and words. Prior contrasts Heywood and other contemporary dramatists.

In 'Tragedy and the Heroic Play', Prior deals with the interrelation of 'admiration' and dialectic uttered by puppet mouth-pieces; he is full and interesting on *All for Love*, as a new union of poetic and dramatic resources, quite different from the parent form. In the nineteenth century (Chapter 4) the drama suffers from 'malnutrition amidst plenty'; too many diverse styles and varied models, and the rise with the Romantics of closet drama, bring about the divorce between the poet and the playwright. Prior deals with these in detail, and writes penetratingly on Byron. Tennyson the poet cannot vivify the dramatist; Browning cannot win clear from the 'dramatic monologue' with its different function, except perhaps in *Pippa Passes*, and in *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon'*, where the imagery, though rich, is haphazard. At the end of the century, realistic, naturalistic drama had an easy victory, led by William Archer.

In the last chapter, on 'The Present Age', the great variety of innovations and experiments absorbs Prior's attention. On the one side the change in the social milieu brings the 'little man' into prominence as the true subject of tragedy, and the rise of the 'drame à thèse' brings on the decay of action. On the other, there is a complete change over to fantasy and symbolism under the influence of Ibsen, Tchekov, and Strindberg, all bad models. Recent experimenters, some with the help of radio, are trying to rehabilitate verse, and Prior considers in detail the verse drama of Maxwell Anderson in the United States, and of Yeats in Great Britain; Yeats's example has been followed, though along different paths, by Eliot, Auden, Spender and MacNiece. All this gives the

appearance in England of a movement, but it is hardly that. The modern poet tends to range freely among all metrical possibilities, from doggerel to stately choric measures.

Karl Shapiro, in his *Essay on Rime*,⁵ performs more than he seems to promise, and gives an art of poesy in what looks like free verse, but has a decasyllabic ground-rhythm, over which is set 'The rough flux and reflux of conversation'; thus he goes far beyond the technical sense of rhyme, and harks back to Horace and Pope. There are three divisions, on the Confusion in Prosody, in Language, and in Belief, each with a five-fold sub-divisioning; and he 'plies the crowbar with goodwill'. On Prosody, his hypothetic principle is that rhythm 'Flows but in one direction, and that from prose to rime. . . . The measure of prosody is the current speech'; this does not prevent him from paying tribute to Milton's epic as 'particular to its own law'. On Language, he considers multiple personality, and the multiple style of Auden, 'a man of many aptitudes', whose reintroduction of rhetorical abstraction has had dire effects. His final assessment of the modern vices of our poetry is sound; he desires

*More art, more love, more poetry of the kind
That Yeats bequeathed, and less verse of the mind.*

The last section shows how far the work is from a merely technical treatise; it is a searching diagnosis of the sickness of modern poetry. We regard belief as the 'tap-root of art', but we struggle in an 'anarchy of personal conviction'. The modern poet is cut off from his audience by his avoidance of nature-poetry, love-poetry, and the plain statement of feeling; he is paralysed by his horror of emotion, and fear of beauty. The poetry of sensation is made a substitute for the poetry of vision; but Shapiro ends with a gleam of hope: 'No man can kill the destined poem.'

Robert Liddell's purpose in writing *A Treatise on the Novel*⁶ is to be useful to novel-writers and their critics, by concentrating on the 'workshop methods' of great novelists, and quoting copiously from their own pronouncements on their art. These pegs, often of pure gold, bestud the pages, and are excellently selected; unfortunately

⁵ *Essay on Rime*, by Karl Shapiro. Secker and Warburg. pp. 64. 6s.

⁶ *A Treatise on the Novel*, by Robert Liddell. Cape. pp. 168. 9s. 6d.

they are often used to support his own rather arbitrary critical dicta. Liddell brushes aside the descent of fiction; for him the English novel is born with *Pamela* in 1740. His criticism, with a few bows to Jane Austen and Dickens, starts with Hardy, and comes down through Proust ('the greatest man of this century') to living writers. It has accordingly but shallow roots, and a spindly effect, like the growth from acorns in wet wadding. To him the novel is the descendant of the drama, and its sole function is the representation of character in action, mainly by means of dialogue. This explains his adulation of Miss Compton-Burnett, and his imperfect sympathy with a novelist who lavishes description on his reader, such as Hardy. Nevertheless, his idealistic views on the dignity of the novel, and on the seriousness of its 'making', will command assent.

V. de Sola Pinto, in an article 'The Street Ballad and English Poetry', contributed to a new quarterly,⁷ puts in a plea for the broadside ballad, unduly despised by lovers and imitators of the late medieval ballad. He sees in it a genuinely poetical product of the folk, or, as he says, of the proletariat. Many of his quotations well illustrate his contention that it is worthy of respect and revival. The sceptical reader, however, may recall uneasily 'James Harris, or The Daemon Lover', and may suspect the dead-level (or worse) of the unquoted residue.

The usual serial volumes have perhaps less of general interest than in recent years. *Essays and Studies*⁸ has specialized considerations of Fielding, Pater and Hopkins, and a survey of controversial prose after the Restoration. The only general paper, the first, is contributed by I. A. Richards, *Responsibilities in the Teaching of English*. The reluctance of the teacher of English to discuss his principles may be due, Richards thinks, to the depth of his belief in it, or more probably, to blankness of aim. (May not an alternative be the good teacher's difficulty, almost impossibility, of defining his half-unconscious power over his craft?) Richards begins with the elementary struggles with the alphabet; the tongue is indeed literally an unruly member. He deals chiefly with English

⁷ *Politics and Letters*, Nos. 2 and 3.

⁸ *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, Vol. XXXII, collected by Basil Willey. O.J.P. pp. 104. 7s. 6d.

as a second language, starting with 'Basic' as taught to the Chinese Navy and Tank Corps. In concluding with the further stages of literature, meaning and relevance, Richards castigates the 'hugger-mugger, promiscuous, leave-it-to-nature style in which the seeds of all things are being strewn over the would-be student's mind', and demands a scientific approach, a manipulation of man as well as of machines, 'a cross-over, by learning from science how to make the humanities accumulative too', a United Studies. Like all makers of a new *Organon*, Richards perhaps hardly allows enough for the wind, that wind which bloweth where it listeth.

As the Royal Society of Literature's kindred collection of essays,⁹ edited by Clifford Bax, was not published till 1948 it will be noticed in the next volume of *Y.W.*

The fifth volume of the *English Institute Annual*¹⁰ collects papers from the session of the preceding year, limiting its choice to two related groups—the various methods of literary scholarship, and the critical significance of biographical evidence. In Part I, introduced by Gerald E. Bentley, four scholars examine afresh the extremes of critical method, that which eschews, and that which demands, knowledge of the author's life. Douglas Bush studies the recent ill-founded prejudice against Milton; Louis A. Landa considers Swift with special reference to *Gulliver's Travels*, Book IV, and to his advocacy of the Irish; Carlos Baker claims in 'Shelley's Ferrarese Maniac', that autobiographical interpretation of Shelley's poems has prevented the understanding of his poetic aims and methods. Shelley himself has added to the confusion by his love of mystification; thus *Julian and Maddalo* combines autobiography, history and fiction. In opposition to Newman White, Baker convincingly connects the story of the maniac with Shelley's earlier schemes for a work on Tasso's confinement as a madman. In the fourth paper Marion Witt finds that Yeats deliberately furnished a 'heavy scaffolding of biographical information' which is therefore a necessary adjunct to study of his poetry.

In Part II, introduced by Arthur M. Mizener, exponents of four various methods of specialized study seek some common ground. René Wellek, in 'Six Types of Literary History', traces the growth

⁹ *Essays by Divers Hands; Transactions of the R.S.L.* Vol. XXIV, O.U.P. pp. x + 159. 10s. 6d.

¹⁰ *English Institute Essays*, 1946. Columbia U.P. and O.U.P. pp. x + 222. 14s.

of this study through six phases, culminating in the history of the internal evolution of literature. He stresses the interdependence of historian and critic; each ignores the other at his péril. Cleanth Brooks, in 'Literary Criticism', asserts that a poem 'has a life of its own, and . . . provides in itself the only critérion' for itself. He illustrates by a close and illuminating survey of Marvell's *Horatian Ode*, seen against the background of the poet's life and convictions. Alan S. Downer traces the course of the study of Elizabethan and later stage history, down to the present interest in technique and production. Downer stresses the difficulty in the study of actors and acting of getting to the heart of the actor's mystery; yet the actor can throw light on the dramatic text, and on his audience; and Downer describes in detail Macready's thirty years' playing of Macbeth. E. L. McAdam asserts the value and examines the methods of 'The Textual Approach to Meaning', illustrating from the editing of the Lake poets and Shelley. The dedication of the volume to the memory of Tucker Brooke is a reminder of this loss to English studies.

To 'Britain in Pictures' Bonamy Dobree has added *English Essayists*,¹¹ tracing, through the practitioners, the genesis and course of the English Essay throughout its phases, aphoristic as of Bacon, intimate in imitation of Montaigne, philosophical, social, 'polite', periodical, critical. The Victorians, and the readers of the great quarterlies, appreciated the Essay of Ideas, and relished the work of Macaulay, Carlyle, of the Arnold whose urgings still strike home, and of the now too much neglected Bagehot. In 'The Present Century' Dobree, with pleasing portraits and pen-portraits, gives us the personalities, and the effect on the essay-form (otherwise admittedly at a low ebb), of Chesterton, Beerbohm, Virginia Woolf, Eliot (who fuses the methods of Bacon and Montaigne), and finally Herbert Read, who has 'widened the literary essay to include as much of life as he wishes'. The present divergency of society makes it unlikely that 'essays will ever again reflect the mood of society as a whole'; all the more need then for the 'literary object which is in itself a delight'.

It is not often that the Clark Lectures at Cambridge are given by a poet, not by an academic person. Cecil Day Lewis's volume

¹¹ *English Essayists*, by Bonamy Dobree. Collins. pp. 48. 5s.

The Poetic Image,¹² is particularly fresh and stimulating criticism, where the interplay of inspiration and craft rises in a fount of life and vigour. It is not closely systematic, but there is a progression in the survey, which passes from the Nature of the Image, the Field of Imagery, the Pattern of Images and the Living Image to the more difficult manifestation, Broken Images, and finally to 'The eternal spirits' eternal pastime, shaping and re-shaping'. Like others who now seek chiefly for unity in diversity, order in variety, Day Lewis asserts that every poem is, or should be, in itself 'a total image, made up of a multiplicity of component images'. This is because, as Rilke says, 'Verses are not . . . simply feelings . . . ; they are experiences'. Out of this experience the poet, with patience and self-discipline, makes a poem which is 'neither the experience nor an abstract dance of words, but a new life composite of all three'. The same can be true of prose, and Day Lewis's penetrating comments on *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* supply an answer to Liddell's objections (see above) to Hardy's descriptive passages. The aridity or contradictoriness of much modern experience leads to the poet falling back or being forced back on the broken image, violent, inconsequent, and incoherent, as in Hopkins's *The Ploughman*; humanity, reason and the moral sense are often sacrificed. In concluding, Day Lewis bids future poets remember their obligations to humanity. True, 'the poet is the only child of solitude'; but the clue that will lead him back from that lonely darkness to the light is 'the fellow-feeling with men and with nature which . . . gives him his images'. On this note Day Lewis closes a book full of unusual richness and suggestiveness.

In *Seven Essays*¹³ George Sampson prints or reprints a miscellaneous collection which 'does not pretend to teach anybody anything'. The grateful reader can therefore relax in sheer enjoyment of the delightful reminiscences of a singularly free and happy childhood. 'A Boy and his Books' depicts the small boy eagerly devouring poetry and stories, the schoolboy mitigating mathematics by romance, and the seventeen-year-old at a time of crisis steadying himself again with poetry, happily revealed anew to him by Matthew Arnold. 'On Playing the Sedulous Ape' expands a paper printed in *Essays and Studies*, VI, which, by way of defending

¹² *The Poetic Image*, by Cecil Day Lewis. Cape. pp. 157. 8s. 6d.

¹³ *Seven Essays*, by George Sampson. C.U.P. pp. vii + 232. 10s. 6d.

R.L.S. from his critics, considers style in general, and distinguishes between style and idiosyncrasy. Sampson defines style in any art as 'a kind of tension arising from the conjunction of the greatest discernible effect with the least discernible effort'; and gives good advice on the acquisition of a sound style. 'Truth and Beauty' (from *Essays and Studies*, XX) deplores the teaching of literature, as a vehicle of information rather than as 'the chief means by which the developing soul is made mindful of its divine nature'. In 'Bach and Shakespeare' (*Quarterly Review*, 1923) Sampson indirectly shows the folly of the anti-Shakespearean argument that genius cannot arise from an obscure setting. 'The Century of Divine Love' reprints the Warton Lecture for 1943 (see *Y.W.*, xxiv, 179). The sixth paper, 'Henry Irving', defends the character, personality and achievement of the great Shakespearean actor from recent denigration; from his personal memories Sampson asserts that 'to have seen Irving as Lear and Becket is a high privilege worth the cost of age'.

Herbert Read, in *The Grass Roots of Art*,¹⁴ contributes the first volume to a new series, 'The Transformation Library', which aims at stimulating 'faith in the transcendence of the human personality'. Printing five lectures delivered during the war, Read is mainly concerned with the visual arts, and with their future in post-war Europe and the coming Plastic Age; but he throws out in passing some judgments on literature, as on the three stages of the evolution of drama; or on the relative greatness of Elizabethan and Victorian poetry; or on Traherne whose poems combine innocence and the true experience. Chapter V, 'The Problems of Taste', has the most relevance to literature. Unfortunately Read allows some stringy couch-grass of jargon among his grass roots, so that he can quote with complacency such a sentence as, 'Cultural determinism is one of the most monosymptomatic approaches; it has a blind spot for the internal balancing factors and structural tenacity within personality'.

*Poets and Pundits*¹⁵ is a reprint by Hugh I'Anson Fausset chiefly

¹⁴ *The Grass Roots of Art*, by Herbert Read. Transformation Library, ed. by Stefan Schimanski and Henry Treece, Vol I. Lindsay Drummond. pp. 118. 5s.

¹⁵ *Poets and Pundits*, by Hugh I'Anson Fausset. Cape. pp. 319. 12s. 6d.

of reviews, chosen for the reviewer's creative relation to the poet or writer, and linked by a common theme, the 'destruction of the Negation, and redemption of the Contraries'; thus in 'Renaissance Man', we have a consideration of Shakespeare through a review of Wilson Knight's *Burning Oracle*. Of the three sections, the first contains three addresses on Tolstoy, Walt Whitman and 'The Augustan Citadel'; the second is on poets and poetry, from Donne, through Coleridge and Dorothy Wordsworth, to Tennyson and Hopkins, and to the living De la Mare and Blunden, with general essays on 'The Cult of Symbolism', 'The Dreaming Mind', and 'Post-Renaissance Man'; the third section, 'The Realm of the Spirit' concerns itself with the pundits: man, religion and philosophy, rather than literary art, are the themes, except in Norman Nicolson's *Man and Literature* reviewed under the title 'What is Man?'

The essay, 'The Augustan Citadel', is a full-length consideration, with ample and well-chosen illustration, of the gradual 'change in the spiritual climate' of the eighteenth century, the disturbing of the balanced view of life and poetry by sentiment and more powerfully by imagination with a force as of a breaking wave. In 'The Cult of Symbolism', Fausset examines the effort of the French 'Symbolistes', and the English Imagists to re-affirm the inward values, to renew the relation in true poetry between 'the dream and the fact', between 'the immediate sense of things and the entranced contemplation of them'. The modern poet is still seeking a symbolism which is at once simple, clear and profound, one which will enlarge and deepen vision, and re-create the world.

Denis Saurat's general theme in *Gods of the People*,¹⁶ is that mankind is in a perpetual process of going mad, and simultaneously of rescuing itself from going mad. In this last the genius plays his part, establishes a connexion with the people, and transmits the thought temporarily housed within him. Milton is the genius chiefly concerned here, because of his knowledge of angels and the Zohar. 'One cannot write soberly of poets or of angels', confesses Saurat, and one might add of stars, since (as the presumed author of the 'Twentieth Century Texts' cited as evidence) he places a planet in the Plough. Fortunately he writes penetratingly of Milton, though one may not agree with his verdict on *Paradise*

¹⁶ *Gods of the People*, by Denis Saurat. Westhouse. pp. 190. 12s. 6d.

Regained, and of Spenser and his spiritualized feudal order. In conclusion, Saurat finely defends philosophical poets; 'we find in them criticism and organization of the most subtle and important human experience'; they are a means 'to go beyond ourselves into those parts of the Universe where normally we cannot walk'. They navigate the waters of a vast underground sea of belief, which they can chart for us.

Ernest Bernbaum, in similar imagery, finds *The Unsought Springs of Civilization*,¹⁷ in the great tradition of Western culture, and above all of its literature, which conveys to mankind modes of truth not discoverable except by the imagination of genius, nor conveyable except through forms of beauty. Speaking at a Forum of the Modern Languages Association at Detroit, he puts up an impassioned plea for literature of power to be again enthroned in men's hearts; more than any other form of international co-operation, it will make for world-peace.

The posthumously published volume of *Essays*¹⁸ by Eric Gill collects those of *Last Essays* (1942) and *In a Strange Land* (1944), twenty-three in all. Writing in prophetic strain, Gill sometimes neglected the form of the essay to lapse into single-sentence paragraphs, or aphorisms. The *Essays*, by their juxtaposition, reinforce his long-known horror at the complete secularization of modern life and art. In No. 16 he looks back to Ruskin as his forerunner, not in art-criticism, but as seeing clearly that 'the roots of human action, and therefore of human art, are moral roots'. In 'Idiocy or Ill-Will', Gill makes one of his rare comments on the art of letters; he accepts it as the only modern art worth mentioning, because it is the only art which now is 'free from the trammels of collaboration' with many divergent minds. He instances the individual work of Conrad and Henry James, and that of Hardy as the final product of 'freedom of thought'.

Arthur Little in *The Nature of Art*¹⁹ prints and expands lectures

¹⁷ *The Unsought Springs of Civilization*, by Ernest Bernbaum. *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America*, LXII, Part II, Suppl. pp. 1,197-1,210.

¹⁸ *Essays*, by Eric Gill. Introduction by Mary Gill. Cape. pp. 252. 8s. 6d.

¹⁹ *The Nature of Art or The Shield of Pallas*, by Arthur Little, S.J., Longmans. pp. x+264. 8s. 6d.

given in the Central Catholic Library in Dublin. He calls his doctrine 'Aesthetic Humanism', and in Chapter 5, after confuting Maritain and 'The Other Adversaries' (the 'isms, Interpretism, Escapism, Surrealism, etc.), he makes his positive contribution to theory: 'that the essence of the artistic process in significant art is virtual contemplation of the nature of the human soul both in the artist and in his audience'. The Aristotelian or rather Thomist basis of this doctrine is illustrated by Little's claim that it explains Catharsis, and that 'Catharsis is the secret, not merely of tragedy and music, but of all significant art'. Accordingly he devotes three chapters to it: the first confirms it by examination of two poems; the second summarizes the various critical explanations, and cites the end of *Samson Agonistes* as expressing the 'educative' view; in the third he examines the effect on the spectator of the *Agamemnon*. For modern examples he turns briefly to *Riders to the Sea*, and *Emperor Jones*. In 'The Criterion of Morality in Art', he considers Shelley and Swinburne as 'atheistical poets', dissects two sonnets by Rossetti and Shakespeare; and concludes his penetrating discussion by admitting humour to be a 'prophylactic to immorality in art'.

Little writes with epigrammatic wit and well-turned phrases, though his habit of saying what is tantamount to Q.E.D. may annoy the questioning reader. He convinces us of his power of close and subtle reasoning; does he so inevitably convince of the rightness of his aesthetic responses?

Clifford Leech in *The Implications of Tragedy* (English, Spring), conscious of the blurring of the word by modern journalese, reconsiders catharsis. Quoting Richards on the nervous system's reactions to pity and terror, he believes that our fear is aroused by the picture of the universe that the tragic writer presents. He discusses here Ellis-Fermor's view that tragic equilibrium consists in the simultaneous holding of these two conflicting ideas: that the universe is divinely directed; and that it is devil-ridden. Leech finds that, as in *Othello*, the divine control is hardly enough to counterpoise the presentation of evil; one can even scent predestination, as in Marlowe's plays, and in *Macbeth*. Neither is there any compensatory future life, and the gods are remote and indifferent (as in *Lear* and *The Duchess of Malfi*); even when divine justice is asserted, as in the choruses of the *Agamemnon*, and in *Lear*, it is like an opera-

tion of natural law. Leech lessens the impact of pity, and substitutes pride, and admiration for the quality of personality that distinguishes tragic characters, whether blameless or evil; they grow in greatness, though without *hubris*. He cannot agree with Tillyard that normality is finally reasserted, but sees the tragic situation as recurrent. Hence the tragic picture proves incompatible with Christian faith, or with belief in a personal and kindly God.

Aristotle is again the foundation of W. K. Wimsatt's paper, *The Structure of the 'Concrete Universal' in Literature*,²⁰ since this doctrine is implicit in Aristotle's two statements, that poetry imitates action, and that poetry tends to express the universal. Considering the general and the particular with the help of Du Fresnoy, Dryden, Johnson and Reynolds, Wimsatt comes to Coleridge's definition of the excellence of Shakespeare as 'a union and interpenetration of the universal and the particular'. This gives the writer his text for deprecating the two extremes as inadequate for art, and for desirating organic unity; thus Falstaff is a unified artefact, and an 'awareness of self with pleasure in the fact is the central principle which gives each attribute a double value'. The function of metaphor is illustrated from *The Solitary Reaper*, where the Arabian nightingale and the Hebridean cuckoo give to the fact (the girl) the abstraction of loneliness and remoteness, extension in space and universality. Here, as in all great poems, there is something, an individual intuition or a concept, which can never be expressed in other terms. Content and technique are kept together.

Technique is the ostensible preoccupation of Cleanth Brooks in *The Well Wrought Urn*,²¹ chiefly reprinted studies, but linked by the plan of examining 'in terms of a common approach' certain familiar poems, from the Elizabethan to the present period, in order to discover common structural properties. A final chapter generalizes on these properties, and seeks a common denominator; technical matters, and the texts of the poems are given in Appendices. Brooks postulates that the language of poetry is the language

²⁰ *The Structure of the 'Concrete Universal' in Literature*, by W. K. Wimsatt, Jr., in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America*, LXII. pp. 262-80.

²¹ *The Well Wrought Urn: Studies in the Structure of Poetry*, by Cleanth Brooks. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. pp. xiii + 270. 21s.

of paradox, whether of irony, as in Donne or Pope, or of wonder, as in the great sonnets of Wordsworth. Imagination itself is a paradox, as in *The Phoenix and the Turtle*. From the study of unity in diversity or duality in Donne's *Canonization*, Brooks finds a new insight into Shakespeare's imagery; starting with Coleridge's description of it as 'a series and never broken chain', he examines with great suggestiveness two images in *Macbeth*, the naked babe, and the concept of manliness, and finds them integral to the symbolism of the whole play. So Milton will use a symbolism involving light, not explicit except in the preamble, to give unity in variety to *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*. Herrick, in *To Corinna going a' Maying*, explores a total experience fashioned out of Catullus, Devonshire, and a dozen May mornings, out of paganism and Christianity, so that we may share in the experience.

Brooks goes on to discuss from his distinctive point of view the *Rape of the Lock*, Gray's *Elegy*, the *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality*, the *Ode on a Grecian Urn*, Tennyson's *Tears, Idle Tears*, and Yeats's *Among School Children* and *Sailing to Byzantium*. Summing up, he finds much in common in all these poems, because of their closeness to the central stream of tradition. With diversities in their outward structure, their inward structure has similarities—'a structure of meanings, evaluations, and interpretations'; its principle of unity is one of 'balancing and harmonizing connotations, attitudes and meanings'. Such poems are parables of poetry, and of the poet's problems; no mere paraphrase can convey their meaning. In two appendices Brooks answers his critics, Stauffer, Herbert Muller, and Pottle; and discusses Richards's and Urban's approach through language to the meaning and importance of poetry.

One book of criticism shows the effect of broadcasting; *Living Writers*²² is a volume of reprints of talks from the Third Programme, edited by G. H. Phelps, who contributes a preface on 'The Written and the Spoken Word'. Twelve panegyrics, copiously illustrated, on living writers are written by twelve others; e.g. by Dylan Thomas on Walter de la Mare, by Rose Macaulay on E. M. Forster, or by Edward Sackville-West on Miss Compton-Burnett. There are some clever strokes, such as the juxtaposition by Denis Johnston of passages from Amanda Ros, and Sean O'Casey. The

²² *Living Writers*, ed. by G. H. Phelps. Sylvan Press. pp. 157. 8s. 6d.

most critical and penetrating estimate is perhaps that of Aldous Huxley by Peter Quennell. There are some disquieting misprints, such as 'Gaugin', particularly odd in printing the spoken word.

There is a little cluster of interesting biography and autobiography, on personalities so varied as Charles Williams, Santayana, Herbert Read and John Buchan.

The diversity in the contributors to the *Essays presented to Charles Williams*²³ is a slight indication of the range of his friendships, as the editor, C. S. Lewis, points out in a prefatory tribute to this novelist, critic, poet and Christian mystic, whose sudden death in 1945 stunned the many who had but recently come to appreciate him. The 'two dons' among the contributors, Lewis himself and Tolkien, provide two papers on forms of fiction seldom favoured by academic criticism, Tolkien on fairy-stories, and Lewis on adventure stories. The power of the fairy-story to arouse wonder, desire, and joy, its 'inner consistency of reality', move Tolkien to see in it a 'far-off gleam or echo of *evangelium* in the real world'. Lewis pleads for the renewal of pleasure in 'the series of imagined events' (as in the *Odyssey* or H. G. Wells's *First Men in the Moon*) in their strict logic, and in the regularity underlying their complex pattern; he hopes for the revival in England of 'story that can mediate imaginative life to the masses while not being contemptible to the few'. Gervase Mathew in 'Marriage and *Amour Courtois* in late Fourteenth-Century England' tries to set both against the changing social structure of that time, and to show that the courtly lovers, when later knit in wedlock, remain *amys et amye* in virtue and joy. Owen Barfield's theme in 'Poetic Diction and Legal Fiction' is 'the part played by metaphor in the operation and development of language'. This he approaches by the two routes indicated in his title, and finds a parallelism between the devices of expression of the law (even of John Doe and Richard Roe), and the figurative language of poetry, metaphor, simile and trope. He coins the word 'tarning' to express 'the concept of saying one thing and meaning another', which he agrees with Aristotle in thinking far the most important thing in poetry. The memory of the many-sidedness of Charles Williams colours all the contributions, and one imagines him as the unseen interlocutor.

²³ *Essays presented to Charles Williams*, with a memoir by C. S. Lewis. O.U.P. pp. xv+145. 12s. 6d.

George Santayana's *Persons and Places*²⁴ is a reprint of the now unprocurable edition of 1944. It describes his childhood and youth, and his 'two polarizations', Avila with its dignified simplicity, and the Harvard Yard. In spite of obvious advantage, the migration to Boston involved a moral disinheritance, an emotional and intellectual chill, whereas in Spain the wind of politics and poetry and notions of honour would have animated him. Fine confused reading in Boston, and church music there and abroad, gave him his chief intellectual and emotional stimulus. Theatre-going in France taught him that 'there is a limit to the acceptable terror and pity that tragedy may excite'; and Bacon's *New Atlantis* gives rise to an unexpected comment on the 'free, friendly, laughing . . . Anglo-Saxon civilization'.

Herbert Read's *Innocent Eye*²⁵ divides into three parts: the first will be read by all with pleasure as a charming account of his childhood in a farmhouse near York, a place of ordered work and simple piety; the second and third will be studied chiefly by those who are interested in the author. He describes his discovery of poetry, when Tennyson first showed him felicity, and Blake 'descended on him like an apocalypse'. At Leeds University an 'orgy of acquisitiveness' led to mental congestion. Traherne, Santayana and Kierkegaard were his first teachers in philosophy, with Nietzsche as his real leader for five years; at present he is under the influence of Taoism. Similarly he passed from inherited Conservatism, through Socialism derived from Carlyle, Ruskin and Morris, to his present Anarchism. In 'The Artist's Dilemma' he describes his post-war attempts to become both a civil servant and a creative writer; novels proved impossible and he declined upon the poem and the critical essay. Shakespeare, not mentioned in the course of the narrative, is reserved for the conclusion of the second section, to be coupled with the Bible as his chief formative influence; and he puts in a plea for the revival of Ruskin. In the third section, 'The Adamantine Sickle' (an image for Reason), he shows that his profoundest experience has been, not religious or moral, but aesthetic, governed by rhythm and pattern; but the

²⁴ *Persons and Places: The Background of My Life*, by George Santayana. Constable. pp. 268. 10s.

²⁵ *The Innocent Eye*, by Herbert E. Read. New York: Henry Holt. pp. xi+268.

aesthetic has united with the moral, and to him goodness is living beauty.

Susan, Lady Tweedsmuir²⁶ has brought out a supplementary volume to *Memory Hold-the-Door*, to answer some of the queries evoked by that autobiography of John Buchan. She writes on her own family background, and early married life. Among the friends who reveal other facets of John Buchan are Catherine Carswell, who offers 'A Perspective', and A. L. Rowse, who describes him at Elsfield among his books and friends; these included, as Lady Tweedsmuir shows, W. P. Ker, T. E. Lawrence, and many Oxford notables. Rowse thus explains John Buchan's influence and charm: 'He really loved people'—this was the spring of his two great qualities, his sense of duty, and his broad and catholic sympathy.

A small group of widely different anthologies will close this chapter. M. G. Lloyd Thomas gaily confesses her *Travellers' Verse*²⁷ (in the series 'New Excursions into English Poetry') to be arbitrary, irresponsible, non-representative and inconsistent. Thus disarmed, the reader abandons criticism, and yields to enjoyment, of the foolish traveller ('Europe he saw, and Europe saw him too'), or of all continents from China to Peru, or of the poetic spell of Italy. If he goes backward from the index, he may look up Coleridge, and get a surprise; or Tom Moore, and realize that forebodings of a century ago have been only too thoroughly fulfilled. The inquirer must turn to the scholarly Notes, e.g. that on Yeats's Byzantium poems; the armchair traveller will enjoy this patchwork quilt and its varied texture, from the dark richness of Raleigh to the fantastic brittleness of Belloc. There are as many towns as travellers, and it is the lighter side of travel, not the wild dedication of oneself to 'unpath'd waters, undream'd shores'.

A. S. Collins interprets 'modern' liberally, and includes in his *Treasury of Modern Poetry*²⁸ poems of Yeats, Kipling, Hardy, Hopkins and Emily Dickinson, as well as post-1940 poetry. His

²⁶ *John Buchan. By his Wife and Friends. With a Preface by George M. Trevelyan, O.M.* Hodder and Stoughton. pp. 302. 12s. 6d.

²⁷ *Travellers' Verse*, chosen by M. G. Lloyd Thomas, with lithographs by Edward Bawden. Muller. pp. viii + 120. 10s. 6d.

²⁸ *Treasury of Modern Poetry*, by A. S. Collins. London Univ. Tutorial Press. pp. xx + 223.

aim is to offer a guide to the best work of the best writers now in England and America, emphasizing, for example, the lyric gift of Auden in 'Look, Stranger', and 'May with its light behaving'. Moods of darkness and disillusionment are not excluded, such as Day Lewis's version of 'Come Live with Me', or Wilfred Owen's three poems; but faith and hope prevail, as in Kipling's 'Cold Iron,' (one of the finest of modern 'ballads') and Osbert Sitwell's 'The Vision', and the earth exerts her ancient, healing power in Blunden's 'The Recovery', and Sassoon's 'A Flower has Opened'. The little volume is pleasant to the hand; for all its modest appearance, it is an anthology to live with, and to choose as a gift for the discriminating foreign friend.

Lord Samuel has collected throughout a long and active life some thousands of quotations, on the Emersonian principle that 'Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it'; now he has issued a volume of selections, *A Book of Quotations*,²⁹ adding also a few sentences of his own, epigrams such as 'Nothing is so dangerous as wrong-headed efficiency', or aphorisms, as 'The best pleasures may be missed through holding on to comforts'. Like Renaissance collections of *Adagia* and *Flores*, it is arranged under themes and subjects, from Action and Amusements down to Wrong and Youth. The individuality of the choice is shown by his omission from *Le Gendre de M. Poirier* of the famous definition of honour. The great classical authors are not represented here; there is no quotation from Homer, Virgil, or Lucretius, and only indirectly from Livy. Selection from English literature is personal and haphazard, as in the choice from Shelley, Wycherley and Jane Austen; Bacon comes off as well as Shakespeare. The whole book has indeed a Baconian flavour, and the extracts, like the *Essays*, 'come home to men's business and bosoms'.

Wendell Ware's *Gems of Expression*³⁰ is an anthology of a very different nature, something nearer a 'Roget's Thesaurus' of alternative expressions of an idea as met in the current and colloquial American language. They are drawn from general reading from

²⁹ *A Book of Quotations*, collected by the Rt. Hon. Viscount Samuel. Cresset Press. pp. vii + 254. 15s.

³⁰ *Gems of Expression*, by Wendell Ware. Los Angeles: Wetzell. pp. 272. \$3.00.

the newspapers to the classics, and the editor desires to eliminate the trite, commonplace and obvious; wisecracks and snappy sayings glitter from the pages, and startle by the flash of contrarities. Not all are polished epigrams, and the best unite plain expression with homely common sense, e.g. 'as practical as a house made of tissue-paper'. There is no section on poetry, and the most poetic expressions come under the headings 'Silence', 'Nature' and 'Light'. The student of the American people will realize the absence of myths hitherto universal; Honolulu and Hollywood have ousted Helen of Troy, Deirdre and Mona Lisa (cf. No. 60, Beauty). On the other hand he can watch local myth growing up, especially in expressions for ease and difficulty: 'as difficult as to dry up the Missouri with a pitchfork', etc. (No. 123). The section on Literature shows as much disgust as appreciation, but one may sympathize with the weary comment 'The trouble with that book is, the covers are too far apart'; and there are some clever inverted allusions and quotations ('He makes Shylock look like a philanthropist'). In all, the book contains twelve thousand phrases.

II

ENGLISH LANGUAGE: GENERAL WORKS

By R. M. WILSON

DURING the year much valuable work has appeared on general linguistics which, since it touches English only incidentally, must be dealt with very briefly. G. Révész, *Ursprung und Vorgeschichte der Sprache*,¹ summarizes the various theories of the nature and development of language with useful criticisms and a detailed discussion of the whole question, whilst an excellent, if brief, account of the development of the alphabet is provided by A. C. Moorhouse.² One of the most useful books published during the year is likely to be E. H. Sturtevant's general introduction to linguistics, even though on occasion it is not easy to tell exactly how much knowledge is assumed on the part of the reader.³ In *Phonemics*,⁴ K. L. Pike introduces a method for reducing languages to writing, and the same scholar has an article on *Grammatical Prerequisites to Phonemic Analysis* (*Word*, Dec.). R. S. Wells, *Immediate Constituents* (*Lang.* April-June), aims to replace by a unified systematic theory the heterogeneous and incomplete methods hitherto offered for determining immediate constituents, whilst C. F. Hockett writes on *Problems of Morphemic Analysis* (*Lang.*, Oct.-Dec.), and A. Rosetti considers the various difficulties involved in a definition of the word.⁵ Interesting articles on linguistic theory are by G. Bonfante, *The Neolinguistic Position* (*Lang.*, Oct.-Dec.), and R. S. Wells, *De Saussure's System of Linguistics* (*Word*, Aug.), whilst stimulating and suggestive ideas appear in J. G. Weight-

¹ *Ursprung und Vorgeschichte der Sprache*, by G. Révész. (Bern: A. Francke AG.) Verlag. 1946. pp. 279.

² *Writing and the Alphabet*, by A. C. Moorhouse. Cobbett Press. pp. xiii + 97. 9 plates. 7s. 6d.

³ *An Introduction to Linguistics*, by E. H. Sturtevant. New Haven: Yale U.P. pp. 173. 16s.

⁴ *Phonemics*, by K. L. Pike. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Publications. Linguistics, Vol III. pp. xvi + 255. 16s.

⁵ *Le Mot: Esquisse d'une théorie générale*, by A. Rosetti. Copenhagen: Munksgaard. pp. 61. kr. 9.

màn, *On Language and Writing*,⁸ which contains five essays all, to a greater or lesser extent, concerned with the relationship between language and thought. In *Meaning and Necessity*⁷ 'Carnap continues his valuable studies in semantics; K. Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*,⁸ is concerned with the relationship of semantics and philosophy, and on the borderline between language and philosophy is M. M. Lewis, *Language in Society*.⁹ Two useful books on artificial languages are those by H. Jacob,¹⁰ and note should also be made of E. Dickenmann, *La linguistique en Suisse de 1938 à 1947* (*Word*, Aug.), and L. Deroy, *La linguistique en Belgique pendant la guerre* (*Word*, Dec.). On the prehistoric period of the language the only work to appear is A. Campbell's *West Germanic Problems in the Light of Modern Dialects* (*Trans. of the Phil. Soc.*), in which he discusses the subdivision of West Germanic in the light of the latest evidence and most recent work on the subject.

Dealing with the whole history of the English language is F. Mossé, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue Anglaise*,¹¹ which inevitably suggests comparison with the similar works by Jespersen and Bradley. It is conceived on the same lines, like them provides a clear, well-written and fascinating history of some aspects of the language, and, whilst inevitably owing much to the earlier works, has in addition its own particular merits. An introductory section deals with the linguistic relationships of English, and with the conquest of the country by the Anglo-Saxon invaders, and then follow chapters on OE., ME., the Renaissance, the eighteenth century, the nineteenth century and contemporary English, and a final section dealing with the position of English in Great Britain, in the Empire and Far East, in the U.S.A., and as a diplomatic and international language. Excellent bibliographies, brief but up-to-

⁸ *On Language and Writing*, by J. G. Weightman. Sylvan Press. pp. 95. 6s. 6d.

⁷ *Meaning and Necessity*, by R. Carnap. Univ. of Chicago Press and C.U.P. pp. viii+210.

⁸ *A Grammar of Motives*, by K. Burke. New York: Prentice-Hall Inc. pp. xxiii+530. \$5.

⁹ *Language in Society*, by M. M. Lewis. T. Nelson. pp. v+249. 12s. 6d.

¹⁰ *On the Choice of a Common Language*, by H. Jacob. Pitman. 1946. pp. xiv+130. 7s. 6d. *A Planned Auxiliary Language*, by H. Jacob. Dobson. pp. 160. 10s. 6d.

¹¹ *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue Anglaise*, by F. Mossé. Lyon: I.A.C. pp. xv+268.

date, conclude the various chapters. In a short sketch such as this some selection is inevitable, and consequently little is said about the phonology of the different stages, whilst in the ME. chapter the author intentionally concentrates on the London dialect and ignores the others. Perhaps the most important and original parts are those dealing with the syntax, and more especially with French influence on ME. syntax. The section on the Renaissance is particularly well done, with much new material in the discussion of the orthography, and another section that strikes one as particularly noteworthy is that on the pronunciation of modern English. This is certainly a work which should appeal to all students of English, and if it is particularly useful to the elementary student those more advanced will find in it much of which they were previously ignorant.

A brief but excellent description of the English language by C. T. Onions forms a chapter in *The Character of England*.¹² It deals first of all with the vocabulary, emphasizing its wealth, describing the way in which alien elements are naturalized, and noting briefly the debt to other languages. Indications are given of the ways in which new words are formed, and the debt of standard English to local dialects and to the U.S.A. is noted. The second section describes the part played by individuals, Coverdale, Tindale, Spenser, and others, in the making of the vocabulary, and points out that we owe to them, and to the *Book of Common Prayer*, not only the introduction of words but frequently of whole phrases which have since become an integral part of the language. Section three discusses the loss of inflexions and the results of this on the language. In section four the phonetic structure of the language is described, with special reference to sounds which foreigners find difficult. Discrepancies between spelling and pronunciation are pointed out, together with some of the more striking characteristics of the former. Section five deals with syntax, emphasizes the importance of word-order, and concludes that the loss of certain features which most modern languages retain is made up for by the elaboration of various other grammatical devices. This description was apparently written more especially for the foreign reader, but the unexpert English reader will also find it at once authoritative, lucid and interesting, and there

¹² *The Character of England*, ed. by E. Barker (see p. 7).

will be few who will not find in it items of information new to them.

E. Andrews's *A History of Scientific English*,¹³ deals with part only of the subject, the evolution of the medical vocabulary of modern English. A rapid survey of the history of medical terminology is preceded by discussions on comparative philology and semantics and followed by an examination of the subject in greater detail. Various chapters deal with the debt in medicine and medical terminology owed by the Greeks to their predecessors—chiefly the Minoans—and neighbours, the state of medical knowledge amongst the Indo-Europeans, and the contributions of Greek, classical and medieval Latin, Arabic and French. Then a sketch of the history of the English language shows at exactly what times these various influences make themselves felt, down to the modern period in which most of the old medical vocabulary has been replaced by a technical vocabulary, rapidly becoming more and more complicated. A final chapter suggests the compilation of a dictionary of medical terms on historical principles, and gives half a dozen sensible rules for the formation of any scientific nomenclature.

The history of medical terminology is however only part of the interest and information to be found in the book. Necessarily one also learns much of the history of medicine, and scattered throughout the book are interesting discussions on different subjects more or less connected with the main one—the question of an Indo-European race, the difference—if any—between Teutons and Celts, the influence of prudishness on the vocabulary, and a brief but comprehensive history of German medical terminology. The author obviously knows his sources well, both linguistic and historical, and his medical qualifications are not in doubt. He has written an interesting and in many ways authoritative book, but doubtless partly due to his death before he had an opportunity of revising his manuscript, some of the forms given are surprising, and it comes as a shock to hear of Wulfila's *Grammar* of the Gothic language, or of the 'notorious Bishop 'Lanfranc' on whom the decadence of the Anglo-Saxon church is blamed.

On the OE. period an article which no future lexicographer can

¹³ *A History of Scientific English*, by E. Andrews. New York: R. R. Smith. pp. ix + 342. \$7.50.

afford to neglect is H. D. Meritt's *Studies in Old English Vocabulary* (J.E.G.P., Oct.). The standard OE. dictionaries enter a considerable number of words known only from glosses and interpreted mainly from their respective Latin lemmata. A study of these words, with particular attention to the source of the Latin lemmata, has thrown a good deal of light on some of them. Sixty such words are considered in detail by Meritt who gives good reasons for considering almost half of them to be mere ghost words.

Kemp Malone, *Old English Gār 'Storm'* (Engl. Stud., April), suggests the meaning 'tempest, storm' for the OE. *gār* (*Genesis* 316), and believes that the same word may be the first element of *garsecg* 'ocean, i.e. storm warrior'. He finds the same element in Lyly's *Agar*, modern *eager*, 'the bore of a river', etymologically *ea-gar* 'river-storm', but William of Malmesbury's Higram would be OE. **hig* 'tempest' (related to *higian* 'hie, strive' hasten'), and OE. *gram* 'foe, devil'. A final note considers the dialectal *acker* 'ripple, furrow'.

In *Old English 'onbyrð' in Wærferð's 'Dialogues of Gregory'*, (M.L.R., July), R. M. Lumiansky suggests that Wærferth read L. *fere* 'almost' as *fert* 'carries' which he consequently translates as *onbyrð*, a possible similarity in the manuscript between final *-e* and final *-t* making such an error plausible enough.

S. M. Kuhn, *Synonyms in the Old English Bede* (J.E.G.P., April), is concerned to refute Hart's assumption that the synonyms reflect a conscious and deliberate application of a rhetorical principle on the part of the translator. Kuhn points out the resemblance between the synonyms and the double and triple glosses found in interlinear glosses of the ninth and tenth centuries. Some of these result from an effort to adapt the translation to two different dialects, others from an attempt to clarify the meaning of the Latin; and it would appear that the work of the glossators was motivated by considerations of clarity and accuracy rather than any striving after rhetorical elegance. Examples of doublets from the *Vespasian Psalter* (VPs.), due to the fact that it was originally glossed throughout by a ninth-century Mercian and later had West Saxon glosses added, are followed by lists of synonymous pairs with dialectal differentiation from the English *Bede* (B), and the similarity of these pairs to the double glosses of the VPs. are obvious. Similar

pairs of synonyms are found in those parts of *Rushworth* which Farman copies from *Lindisfarne*, usually transliterating the Northumbrian glosses and then adding his own synonyms. As a consequence the dialectal differences tend to fade out in Farman's version, and it is only by comparison with the original that we can see how some of his doublets arose. Similar combinations in B. can only be accounted for on the assumption that the translation was based on an interlinear gloss. If these comparisons are valid then the archetype of B. was either a gloss or an adaptation of a gloss which must have contained second glosses similar to those in the VPs., and the Mercian element in the text may be explained by localizing the original gloss rather than the later translation in Mercia, so reopening the question of Alfredian authorship. Moreover the synonymous pairs are to be regarded as a rhetorical accident arising from the manner in which the translation was made rather than as a species of ornament introduced by an independent translator.

R. J. Menner, *The Vocabulary of the Old English Poems on Judgment Day* (P.M.L.A., Sept.), considers the possibility of using vocabulary to determine the original dialect of OE. poems later than Cynewulf. He illustrates the application of the method, and tests its validity, by taking two poems on the same theme, one reputedly Anglian, the other reputedly West Saxon. The difficulties inherent in such tests are carefully pointed out, but despite them Menner believes that vocabulary can provide evidence for the provenance of a text, sometimes confirming the results of metrical investigation, and sometimes determining the origin where metrical tests fail.

H. Penzl, *The Phonemic Split of Germanic k in Old English* (Lang., Jan.-March), deals with the phonemic split which has resulted in modern English in such pairs as *chin/kin*, *chill/kill*, etc. Evidence for such a split in OE. is provided by orthography, occasional spellings, loan words, the ME. developments, and the presence of an analogous split of Gmc. *g*. Penzl concedes that the particular phonetic development of (k) can hardly be definitely ascertained, but decides that the specific phonetic values at any particular time are not as important as the distinctive sound units and their contrasts, and concludes that the phonemization of (k) and

(k') is a direct result of PrOE. *i*-mutation. PrOE. velar (k) was not affected by this change, and if all the new palatal vowels originating from *i*-mutation had remained phonetically distinct from the old palatal vowels, the two (k)'s would not have been brought into contrast because they would have continued to occur only in complementary mutually exclusive positions. But since the new palatal vowels merged with the old ones both the velar and the palatal allophones came to stand before identical palatal vowels; the sounds (k) and (k'), formerly mere variants of a single phoneme (k), were now in contrast, and had thus become separate phonemes. The crucial innovation was the appearance of a velar (k) before the new palatal vowels developed through *i*-mutation. It was not the phonetic change of the palatal allophone (k') but the persistence of the velar allophone (k) in a changing environment that caused the phonemic split of Gmc. k to be completed.

In *Non-Initial k in the North of England* (Lang., Jan.-March), J. W. Watson, Jr., examines the evidence provided by place-names for the palatalization and assibilation of Gmc. k in the north. Initially the evidence shows quite clearly that Gmc. k split into two phonemes in Northumbrian as in other English dialects, but in medial and final positions the position is more complex. As far as final -k is concerned the place-names of the six counties of the original Northumbrian territory show not a single form represented by (tʃ). This can hardly be due to Scandinavian influence or to analogy, and we must conclude that in absolute final positions Gmc. k remained unchanged in Northumbria. So far as medial -k- is concerned, with a single exception all the place-names showing assibilation are from the county of Northumberland, and this county shows only a single example which has not been assibilated. In contrast the other counties present an equally unified picture indicating preservation of k in medial positions, and we may conclude, therefore, that in Northumbria the phoneme ȝ occurred medially only in Northumberland.

On ME. subjects H. T. Price calls attention to the remarkable parallelism between the use of prepositions and adverbs in ME. on the one hand and in OF., ON., and Med. L. on the other.¹⁴

¹⁴ *Foreign Influences on Middle English*, by H. T. Price. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan. pp. 45. \$75.

Sometimes it is obvious that the ME. usage has been taken over from a foreign language, at other times the already existing English usage has at least been strengthened and enriched by the foreign idiom. Price goes on to specify three ways in which foreign languages influenced English prepositions. Firstly by 'translators' English—the careless tendency to render a foreign phrase by something that sounded like it: secondly, phrases for which we have some indication of a source in OE., but for which the parallels in another language are much more varied and numerous, and here it is not so much a question of giving the language a new meaning but rather of filling the old meaning with a variety of new usages; and thirdly we have the class containing those senses and usages which obtained some hold in the language and for which there is no good parallel in OE. The main point which emerges is that when we see a usage in ME. which can be found in OE. and in any or all of the other languages which influenced ME. we are not entitled to exclude those languages from consideration. Moreover if the form occurring in ME. corresponds closely with other languages in its syntactical use, in its combination with other words, or in its actual phrasing, that must be considered as strong presumption that it was taken from the other language. In the preposition the important thing is the phrase; a preposition was borrowed because of its convenient use with a noun and frequently it was borrowed along with the noun to which it was attached. Sometimes the preposition in these phrases had a meaning which could be found in OE.; at other times the meaning was new. But either way these borrowings poured fresh blood into English and made it far more supple and expressive than it had been before (see also p. 105, below).

E. Ekwall on *A Twelfth-Century Lollard?* (*Engl. Stud.*, Aug.), notes in a Ramsey document the name *Elfred Lollere* which provides evidence for an English *lollere*, an agent-noun formed from a verb *lollen*, which must have been in existence before the twelfth century. If this be the derivation the word would mean something like 'an indolent fellow', and the verb must then be native English and not, as has been suggested, a Dutch loan-word. Alternatively the word may be identified with ME. *lollere* 'a Lollard', and so be an old word in English which was later sub-

stituted for the Du. *Lollaerd*. Or perhaps it represents an early ME. *lollere* 'indolent fellow', and when the Du. *lollaerd* later became known it was associated with this English *lollere* in spite of the disparity in meaning, and consequently changed to *lollere*.

A crux in the ME. *Sawles Warde*, dealt with by S. R. T. O. d'Ardenne and J. R. R. Tolkien in 'ipplen' in 'Sawles Warde' (*Engl. Stud.*, Dec.), is discussed in Chap. V., p. 96.

In *Chaucer's Romance Vocabulary* (P.Q., Oct.) J. R. Hulbert, discussing a recent estimate of the number of French and Latin words introduced into the vocabulary by Chaucer, is mainly concerned to protest against the assumption that when the *O.E.D.* quotation from Chaucer is earlier than any other given then the word must be an importation by that poet. But such dates were never claimed as authoritative by the compilers, and could at the best merely give the date of the first appearance of the word in literature. Moreover in any examination of Chaucer's romance vocabulary texts of uncertain authorship should be excluded, as also should the technical vocabulary of the *Treatise on the Astrolabe* and the *Canon's Yeoman's Tale*. In addition it is improbable that Chaucer introduced from the French and anglicized in such fashion: words with prefixes or suffixes derived from OE., nor should hybrid compounds be included. More particularly all words should be omitted for which *O.E.D.* gives a first quotation from Chaucer and a second from fourteenth-century writers who, as far as is known, were not influenced by Chaucer, and similarly words formed on the same stems as others used by these authors or earlier ones should not be included. The omission of these classes would leave a very small residue of words which may or may not have been introduced by Chaucer, and the general conclusion must be that most of the French and Latin words used by the poet were in common use in the London speech of the time, and that his own personal contribution was very slight.

A. K. Moore, *The 'Eyen Greye' of Chaucer's Prioress* (P.Q., Oct.), examines the view that ME. *gray* as applied to eye-colour, was synonymous with Mod. E. *blue*, and comes to the conclusion that although there is some slight reason for believing that the shade now called blue was in medieval times considered a member

of the general non-brown series, a general gray effect is more probable since Chaucer never compares the eyes of his characters with any object that is clearly blue.

Similarly H. Kökeritz, '*The Wyf of Bathe and al hire Secte*' (*P.Q.*, April), points out that Kittredge has given a false impression of the meaning of this phrase through his misinterpretation of *secte*, which here has the usual ME. sense 'sex' and does not refer to any heretical sect. (See also Chap. IV, p. 75).

F. T. Visser, '*I had heard her cried*' (*Eng. Stud.*, Oct.), notes examples of this idiom, usually amended by the editor, in the *Book of Margery Kempe*. He gives examples to show that this type of construction was not unidiomatic in earlier English, and suggests that it arose from the elision of *have* before the past participle.

In *Studies in the Language of the London Chronicles*,¹⁵ B. Kjerrström is mainly concerned with the text usually referred to as *Gregory's Chronicle* (G). The printed text has been compared with rotographs and is found to give an excellent reproduction of the manuscript, but additional notes and variants have been added to the scanty ones given by Gairdner. An exhaustive and detailed vocabulary of G., including numerous comments and many variants from parallel texts, is followed by a careful and detailed examination of its phonology. The difficulties involved in such an examination are clearly set out, and after some notes on characteristic features of the accidence Kjerrström sums up the results of his investigation. He comes to the conclusion that in the main the language of the London chronicles, with the exception of G., tallies with the dialect of London as defined by Morsbach, Wyld, and others, but that in G. there are a large number of forms which, despite statements to the contrary by Wyld, do not agree with the London usage of the time. The theory that Gregory wrote any part of the chronicle is not supported by the evidence of the language, and in all probability it was copied and written by some later mayor who almost certainly came from the South-West. Appendices contain a transcript of the oldest English London chronicle, that in Harley 3775, and specimen photostatic facsimiles of this manuscript and of G. The results of this careful and scholarly in-

¹⁵ *Studies in the Language of the London Chronicles*, by B. Kjerrström. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri. 1946. pp. 327.

vestigation should prove useful to historians as well as to students of ME.

A certain amount of work has appeared on early Modern English. E. J. Dobson in *Robert Robinson and his Phonetic Transcripts of Early Seventeenth-Century English Pronunciation* (Trans. of the Phil. Soc.), after a careful examination of the phonetic spelling of Robinson as it appears in some of his transcriptions, comes to the conclusion that as a theoretical phonetician Robinson hardly merits the praise bestowed on him. He does not properly understand the nature of the voiceless consonants, and describes precisely the articulation of few of the individual consonants or vowels. He omits from his theoretical system one vowel, two and possibly three diphthongs. His phonetic alphabet is in some respects ill-designed, with the result that some of his transcriptions are ambiguous, and in various respects he is excelled by one or other of his predecessors. Nevertheless Robinson makes a great advance by arranging the sounds in a system, and his distinction of the long and short vowels is a useful innovation. He was an extremely careful observer of pronunciation and had an excellent ear. The mere amount of his transcriptions makes him one of our most important sources of evidence, and they illustrate an unusual number of important points. An appendix gives Robinson's transcription of the first four stanzas of Barnfield's *Lady Pecunia*.

In *Verb Forms in -s and -th in Early Modern English Prose* (J.E.G.P., April), R. C. Bambas disputes the opinions of Franz and Jespersen that whereas the -s ending was current in poetry and in colloquial prose during the early modern period it was avoided in formal prose. Twenty-one prose works, published between 1545 and 1644, are carefully examined, and from these it would appear that -s forms occurred rarely in prose until the last decade of the sixteenth century, and that from then until the middle of the seventeenth -s stands side by side with -th, varying unaccountably in frequency in the usage of different writers. The evidence suggests that although prose was slower than poetry in freely accepting the new -s forms, they were perfectly at home in prose by the 1590's—earlier than had been supposed, but side by side with them the old -th forms survive in all types of prose until at least the mid-seventeenth century. In the period 1590–1640 prose writers freely

employed both *-s* and *-th* without feeling conscious of the former as colloquial or the latter as archaic.

J. R. Hulbert, *On the Origin of the Grammarians' Rules for the use of Shall and Will* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.), although agreeing with Fries that the grammarians worked out many details in the use on the basis of reason rather than actual usage is not so certain that the whole system had no foundation at all in usage. In sixteenth-century letter collections there seems to be little or no distinction in the use of *shall* and *will*, but by the middle of the seventeenth we find the usage which a century later was prescribed by the grammarians, e.g. in the letters of Lady Conway and Dorothy Osborne. In letter collections of the eighteenth century the evidence is similar, though not so clear cut. The earliest formulation so far found of a distinction in the use is by Mason (1622). Although it is possible that his statements represent the teaching in some places of that date and perhaps earlier, yet in view of the fact that apart from one grammar (1653) those which appeared between 1622 and 1762 do not make any distinction, it would seem that little was made of it. Probably the distinction will be found in some writer as early as 1622, and even if it be found that grammarians first made the distinction writers from 1651 on did observe them.

Dealing with early dictionaries A. H. Marckwardt in *Nowell's 'Vocabularium Saxonicum' and Somner's 'Dictionarium'* (*P.Q.*, Oct.), shows that, despite the opinion of earlier scholars, Somner made extensive use of Nowell's earlier manuscript dictionary. Although the latter cannot compete in importance with Somner's work there can be little doubt that it made a distinct and by no means negligible contribution to the first printed dictionary of OE.

E. K. Sheldon in *Walker's Influence on the Pronunciation of English* (*P.M.L.A.*, March), points out that the first dictionary to indicate clearly the pronunciation of every word included was that of Sheridan (1780), and that in 1791 appeared Walker's work, varying in many individual pronunciations from Sheridan. Where the two disagreed the pronunciation indicated by Walker has almost invariably prevailed, but this does not necessarily indicate

that he is to be preferred as an accurate recorder of the pronunciation of his time, and Wyld's high opinion of Walker in this respect appears to be due to a knowledge of part only of his work. One way of discovering which of the two pronunciations more nearly represents that current is by comparing the disputed words with entries in other dictionaries of the period. A sample of the available evidence is given and it is found that Sheridan represents the vowels, more particularly those of unstressed syllables, honestly as they were pronounced in normal speech, whereas Walker often enters for them pronunciations which do not represent the actual speech of the time. In the same way the assimilations recorded by Sheridan were certainly widespread and acceptable in many words during the first half of the eighteenth century. The evidence makes it clear that usage was not, with Walker, an impelling criterion in determining his dictionary entries; for him the two most important criteria were spelling and analogy. Yet, despite the fact that Sheridan's pronunciation rather than Walker's indicated the speech of the time, in four out of five instances where the two differ the pronunciation recommended by Walker has become that required by modern American dictionaries and that taught in American schools. This is partly due to the fact that Webster's dictionaries in general followed Jones's revision of Sheridan in which any differences from Walker were replaced by Walker's pronunciation, with the result that these had the great weight of Webster behind them, and so established themselves securely in American speech. There can be no doubt that Walker's is the greatest single influence on English pronunciation, but Sheridan certainly reflects better the speech of his time.

R. K. Leavitt, *Noah's Ark*,¹⁶ issued in commemoration of a century of publication of Merriam-Webster dictionaries, gives in the first part much useful information, with illustrations, on nineteenth-century American dictionaries, whilst the third part, in telling of the constant struggle to keep the dictionary up to date, gives interesting glimpses of the way in which a dictionary is compiled.

A number of grammars of modern English have appeared, all adequate enough and each with its own particular virtues. That of

¹⁶ *Noah's Ark*, by R. K. Leavitt. Springfield, Mass.: Merriam. pp. 106.

Curme's¹⁷ work is probably the concise and systematic presentation of material, representing English grammar as part of an evolutionary process and not merely as a body of fixed rules. Curme manages to get a good deal of detail into a small space, and is more comprehensive than most such textbooks, dealing with subjects such as aspect which are usually omitted.

The characteristic virtue of R. W. Pence, *A Grammar of Present-Day English*,¹⁸ is the wealth of examples with very full explanations which he gives. Since the book is intended for beginners it is detailed and at times even dogmatic in its explanations, at once so explicit that it may even seem elementary, yet at the same time complete enough to serve as a reference book. It inverts the usual order of such textbooks in that the first part deals with syntax, and the second with forms and usages, since the author feels that such an order is likely to lead to a more intelligent study of the latter by the student who might otherwise be bewildered by a welter of uninteresting details.

Similarly intended for the fairly elementary student is W. Clough in *Grammar of English Communication*,¹⁹ in which the exposition is characterized by the frequent use of obvious symbols in the expectation that the student trained in scientific method will find their use tending to greater clarity and a more immediate grasp of relationships.

R. W. Zandvoort in *A Handbook of English Grammar*,²⁰ aims at indicating the function of the language rather than giving detailed rules of correct English, and its characteristic features are the distinction which is made between different styles of language, the emphasis on what is current and what is less current English, the attention paid to matters of stress and rhythm, and more particularly the careful differentiation of the meanings of various expressions and phrases. The author apparently owes a good deal to Krusinga, but is never hesitant in taking his own line, and not

¹⁷ *Principles and Practice of English Grammar*, by G. O. Curme. New York: Barnes & Noble. pp. x + 308. \$2.50.

¹⁸ *A Grammar of Present-Day English*, by R. W. Pence. Macmillan. pp. xiv + 383. 20s.

¹⁹ *Grammar of English Communication*, by W. Clough. New York: Lippincott. pp. xiii + 290.

²⁰ *A Handbook of English Grammar*, by R. W. Zandvoort. Groningen-Batavia: J. B. Wolters. pp. 377.

infrequently has justifiable criticism of the earlier scholar. The book is written more particularly for Dutch students who will certainly find it a useful and valuable guide to the language, and so will students from other countries, not excluding England itself.

Also written more particularly for advanced Dutch students is a book by A. C. E. Vechtman-Veth²¹ which provides a useful description of the syntax of the modern language. The general rules are given in English only, but most of the examples appear in Dutch as well as English, thus, apart from its primary purpose, making it equally useful for English students of Dutch.

A more general work than any of the preceding is H. F. Pommer and W. M. Sale's *The Use of Language*,²² which aims to set forth the requirements of a clear and accurate prose style. It discusses the origin of language, its relation to thought, and the difference between grammar and rhetoric. The two latter are then treated separately in as non-technical language as possible, whilst the final chapter deals with punctuation and concludes with brief notes on spelling, compounding, footnotes, bibliography, etc.

On the phonology of the modern language, K. L. Pike in *On the Phonemic Status of the English Diphthongs* (*Lang.*, April-June), presents evidence to show that in certain dialects of American speech phonetic (i¹), (u¹), (e¹), (o¹), are not structurally parallel to (a¹), (a²), (ɔ¹), but that the first group act as phonetically complex single units, whereas the second group function as sequences of two units. This being so, it is necessary to reconcile the fact that other writers, with strong arguments based on the structural distribution of sounds, analyse the first group as two units instead of one or the second group as single units. Is there some phonemic principle which would account for such apparently conflicting conclusions, and which would permit the discovery of some definite unity within the complexity of phonemic structure? Pike suggests that phonemes may occur in structural layers, in series of immediate constituents; a close-knit inner layer comprising a sequence of phonemes may act, in a larger structural layer, as a single but phonemically complex unit. If this be so /ai/ /au/ /ɔi/ would be

²¹ *A Syntax of Living English*, by A. C. E. Vechtman-Veth. Groningen. N.V. Erven: P. Noordhoff. 2nd edn. pp. xii + 330.

²² *The Use of Language*, by H. F. Pommer and W. M. Sale. New York: Crofts. pp. v + 258. \$1.65.

sequences of phonemes in an inner layer, but would serve in larger sequences as (phonemically complex) nuclear units; on the other hand /e/ /i/ /o/ /u/ would constitute single phonemes in the inner layer, and would serve in larger sequences as (phonemically simple) nuclear units somewhat similar in distribution to the complex nuclear units.

M. Swadesh, *On the Analysis of English Syllables* (Lang., April-June), concludes that English vowel patterns vary from dialect to dialect within limits that make possible a general description. There is a maximum of three levels and three series, and allowing for variations of phonetic detail the following four vowels can be recognized as universal types: i and e, u and ʌ or a. Each dialect has phonemes more or less comparable to these four plus at least one other, up to a maximum pattern of nine. All the vowel phonemes of any dialect occur as syllable-forming elements, and in addition i u are found as post-syllabic elements that make a one-syllable group with the syllabic vowel. Each dialect has its own pattern of vowel groupings, the only universal types being ii uu, but almost universal are ei ou, and one also commonly finds ai au or something similar. Vowel quality varies according to position, the details being different in each dialect. Probably without exception i u are higher as the second vowel of a group beginning with a high or mid vowel than when occurring alone, whilst as the second member after a low vowel they are usually lower than otherwise. Mid and low groups are frequently pronounced as monophthongs. In some dialects the vowels i u occur as presyllables. Other dialects have consonantic j w as separate phonemes, but the contrast tends to be restricted to certain positions, and there are variant pronunciations, with interchange of i u and j w for many words. Finally, in some dialects postvocalic (ə) is a positional variant of r.

On accidence B. Bloch, *English Verb Inflection* (Lang., Oct.-Dec.), claims to give a treatment of inflexion intended to make possible a clear and unambiguous description of all verb forms. By analysing every inflected form as a combination of morphemes in a particular order, and by avoiding all reference to the process by which the form is derived, the facts of English verb inflexion can be systematized in a way that will not only be more useful to

the descriptive linguist than the treatments hitherto published, but also more uniform and in the long run simpler.

D. L. Bolinger, *More on the Present Tense in English* (Lang., Oct.-Dec.), deals with apparent exceptions to Calver's description of the simple present tense as that dealing with the 'constitution of things' (see Y.W. xxvii, 41-2), and suggests that a better term would be 'base tense'; expressing merely the 'fact of process'. The simple present has no confines, but all other tenses are confined in some way. It is 'timeless' not in the sense of 'eternal' but of 'non-committal about time'. The present progressive tense, on the other hand, is confined by or oriented to a beginning or a possible cessation.

On syntax I. Poldauf in *Some Points on Negation in Colloquial English* (Prague Studies in English), decides that the six tendencies in the use of negation, as given by Jespersen, can really be reduced to one—the tendency to place the negative signal as early as possible. He then goes on to consider more closely the tendency to attract the negative notion to any word that can easily be made negative. If this is overridden by the preceding tendency we find the word *any* present in the sentence besides the negative adverb *not*. If the other tendency prevails *no* appears in place of *any*. The first way of expression is used when it brings the negation nearer to the beginning of the sentence, but the latter is preferred if the negation could not possibly be moved further forward. The occasional abandonment of the tendencies in colloquial English is due to the terseness of the latter form, the former tendency being stronger in literary language only.

Problems connected with sentences expressing negative universal propositions are dealt with in more detail by J. Vachek, *Obeční Zápor v Angličtině a v Češtině* (Prague Studies in English), who compares the usages in English and Czech.

E. Partridge, *Usage and Abusage*,²³ very largely succeeds in his aim of supplementing and complementing Fowler, and if on occasion both cover common ground the different treatment usually throws fresh light on the subject. The book contains, arranged in alphabetical order with numerous cross-references, a selection of words and phrases which are commonly misused, confused, mis-

²³ *Usage and Abusage*, by E. Partridge. Hamish Hamilton. pp. 384. 15s.

spelled or the like, and the various topics are treated lucidly and authoritatively. Authorities on the different aspects of the various subjects are freely quoted, and some of the articles include useful further references. Others perhaps suffer from an unnecessary brevity which could have been avoided by omitting the occasional irrelevancies, and occasionally the author hardly distinguishes between lightness of treatment and somewhat annoying facetiousness. On the whole, however, Partridge has produced an accurate, readable, up-to-date reference book which is not unworthy of being placed by the side of Fowler.

A. G. Whyte, *Anthology of Errors*,²⁴ includes a selection of items, mostly taken from the works of professional writers, selected for their demerits of composition and style. The anthologist is not concerned with purely grammatical faults, but with the more reprehensible ones of misuse of words, lack of clear thinking, loose and confused constructions leading to ambiguity or even to the very opposite of what the writer wishes to say. The collection certainly makes entertaining reading, but English teachers are likely to find it a depressing commentary on the failure of their own efforts.

The fact that a dictionary of abbreviations should have become a necessity for most reference libraries is a sign of the times, and the present one²⁵ will be found to fill the gap admirably. It is probably as comprehensive as possible, but ephemeral abbreviations, when they can be distinguished as such, are omitted, and foreign ones are included only when they are likely to be encountered fairly frequently by the ordinary English reader. Useful appendices include the Greek and Russian alphabets, Roman numerals, and lists of symbols used in various specialized subjects—botany, mathematics, pharmacy, etc.

A number of words are discussed by I. Brown in *Say the Word*²⁶ which follows a similar plan to that used in his previous books. The author has collected a number of words from various sources—the standard language, slang, dialect—arranged them alpha-

²⁴ *Anthology of Errors*, by A. G. Whyte. Chaterson. pp. x + 70. 5s.

²⁵ *A Dictionary of Abbreviations*, by C. C. Matthews. Routledge. pp. viii + 232. 6s.

²⁶ *Say the Word*, by Ivor Brown. Cape. pp. 127. 6s.

betically, and written entertainingly and informatively about them. His interest is not merely etymological; he has much to say on the æsthetic aspects of the word, and particularly on the association evoked by the sound, though some of the remarks suggest that he has been influenced by the spelling rather than by the actual pronunciation of the word. The collection is of particular interest in that some of the words dealt with do not appear in the standard authorities. It is difficult to imagine that lightness of touch could be better combined with soundness of information, and we must therefore be grateful, if somewhat surprised, at the apparent inability of some of his correspondents to consult for themselves the obvious reference books.

B. Chapman, *Why do we say such things?*²⁷ is a collection, arranged in alphabetical order, of words and phrases which have an interesting history behind them, and this history the compiler undertakes to explain. It is a task which has frequently been attempted before, but as a rule far less accurately and carefully than here. Standard reference works have obviously been carefully and intelligently used, early forms when given being in the main accurate, and if in his explanations the compiler occasionally goes rather further than is justified by the present state of our knowledge, his additions are plausible enough. The collection also includes some modern expressions and a good many Americanisms which have not yet got into the dictionaries.

*Words Ancient and Modern*²⁸ is a carefully revised selection by E. Weekley from two of his earlier books, *Words Ancient and Modern* (1926) and *More Words Ancient and Modern* (1927), together with the reprint of a chapter on 'Shakespeare and Wagstaffe' from *Words and Names* (1932).

R. J. McClean, *Germanic Nursery Words* (M.L.R., July), has made a collection of some of the traditional nursery words occurring in the Germanic languages, with a view to showing the close similarity in form of many such words within a language group, and to illustrate some of the main linguistic processes involved in their formation. A number of English words are included, e.g.

²⁷ *Why do we say such things?* by B. Chapman. New York: Miles-Emmett. pp. 286. \$2.75.

²⁸ *Words Ancient and Modern*, by E. Weekley. Murray. pp. viii + 214. 7s. 6d.

puss, bow-wow, tummy, daddy, mummy, shug-shug, puffer, etc., along with the German, Swedish, Norwegian and Danish names.

Investigations on the etymology of individual words are provided by L. Spitzer in *Ragamuffin, Ragman, Rigmarole and Rogue* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.), who suggests that all these words go back, through French, to the name of the Old Testament king Rehoboam; haughty traitors or infidels were in the OF. epics given the name of that ill-fated Jewish king, and this in turn yielded a name for devil. The name appears in various forms in OF., from one of which, *Rogomant*, would be derived the Eng. *rageman*, and with the loss of the apparent participial ending, the form *rogue*. *Ragamuffin* would go back to a French **Rogom-ouf(l)e*, **Ragam-ouf(l)e*, which must be a blend of *Ragemon* 'devil' and such words as OF. *ruffien*, or perhaps a coinage from the *ragemon* stem formed with the OF. suffix *-ouf(l)e*.

J. A. Joffe in *Jazz and Racket* (*Word*, Aug.), suggests Fr. *jaser* 'to chatter like a magpie, jabber' as the source of the former, and traces the semantic development of the latter as, (1) noise; (2) noisy gathering; social gathering, with music, dancing, etc.; (3) ball or entertainment by local organization for which its members peddled tickets to small businessmen of the neighbourhood, using various forms of explicit or implicit pressure. Later shady members of social clubs sell tickets for 'rackets', the purchase of which is supposed to insure the business of the small man against interference. Hence the final and most common slang meaning of *racket* and *racketeer*.

English scatter, shatter (*Romance Philology*, Aug.) are traced by C. H. Livinston to dialectal variants of OF. **escater* (L. **excapitare*) with a primary meaning 'to squander, dissipate', cognate with It. *scapitare*.

English place-names have again received little attention. Apart from W. S. Robson's *Hawick Place-Names*, which it has not been possible to see, and an article by F. T. Wainwright on *Early Scandinavian Settlements in Derbyshire* (*Journal of Derbyshire Archaeol. and N.H. Soc.*) containing useful information on the Scandinavian element in place-names of that county, the only

work on the subject has been W. Fraser's *Field-Names in South Derbyshire*,²⁹ a valuable and scholarly work on a neglected part of place-name studies. It is an attempt to record and explain, before they disappear, some of the more interesting of the field-names in a series of twenty-four parishes grouped along the course of the Trent in South Derbyshire. But although the actual area covered is thus restricted a similar nomenclature will be found throughout the greater part of the Midlands. In the first part of the book are to be found a discussion of the various types of field-name, their age and the changes that tend to take place in them. Their historical and archaeological value is noted, the way in which their evidence confirms that of other place-names as to the extent of the Danish settlements in this area, and the fact that they often suggest identifications of lost or doubtful sites, forts, roads, mills, etc. The modern forms are, as we should expect, frequently corrupt, and it is very rare to find a succession of forms for any one name. These difficulties make all the more valuable the author's remarks on his sources and methods. Finally he suggests that 'lands' as a field-name element may refer, not to the number of 'lands' or ridges in a particular plot, but rather to the number of double journeys of the plough by which each 'land' was formed, and so to the comparative breadth of them. In the second part the parishes are dealt with in alphabetical order, and under each of them, again in alphabetical order, is a list of field-names chosen for their general interest and the light which they throw on local history, customs, husbandry, etc. Some personal names are included because of their special local interest, but all the obvious names have been omitted since the author is interested rather in the various types of field-names than in giving a mere inventory of them. The lack of early forms necessarily means that the explanation of the meaning of some of them is highly speculative. This is perhaps inevitable, and such being the case it is all the more fortunate that we can rely upon the experience and scientific method of the author.

A work on American place-names is that by F. G. Cassidy.³⁰ The introduction describes the methods to be followed, gives lists

²⁹ *Field-Names in South Derbyshire*, by W. Fraser. Ipswich: Adlard. pp. viii + 166.

³⁰ *The Place-Names of Dane County, Wisconsin*, by F. G. Cassidy. Publications of the American Dialect Society, No. 7. pp. 225.

of terms for natural and artificial features in the area covered, and discusses the various types of place-names and their linguistic aspects. The body of the work consists of the place-names in alphabetical order with, when necessary, a phonetic transcription of the pronunciation, variant forms, and etymology or circumstances under which the name came to be given. Comparatively few names are of Indian origin, the greater number of the names for natural features being descriptive or taken from some local person, whilst most of the names for artificial features are taken from some other place or important person in the neighbourhood. As an indication of rapid change in place-names it may be noted that almost a quarter of the names included here are now obsolete. A detailed list of documentary sources, maps, and informants is included, also a map—a necessary adjunct too often lacking in such books. Altogether a scholarly and exhaustive piece of work.

Considerably more work has appeared on personal names. K. Malone, *The Name of the Wends* (*M.L.N.*, Dec.), rejects a recent suggested etymology deriving the name from Celtic *vend/vind* 'white, fair, fair-haired', and instead connects it with an IE. base *wen* 'water'. On this interpretation both the Celtic *Veneti* and the Gmc. *Venethi*, cognate with it, would mean 'inhabitants of a watery district'.

O. von Feilitzen, *Old Welsh 'Enniaum' and the Old English Personal Name Element 'Wen'*. (*M.L.N.*, March), suggests that the *Enneawn* of *Eadwine Enneawnes sunu* in KCD. 755 clearly goes back to Old Welsh *Enniaum*, and emendation to *Eanwene* is unnecessary. Eadwine was evidently of mixed ancestry, and the name of his father is an interesting addition to the small number of Celtic personal names that have hitherto been found in OE. charters. Feilitzen then suggests that there is little if any real evidence for the use of *wen* as an element in OE. personal names. The compounds supposed by Searle and Boehler to contain this theme, whether as first or second element, are carefully examined, and it is concluded that, apart from a few irrelevant or obscure cases, all such forms can be derived from well-authenticated names in *wyn-* or *-wynn*.

An exhaustive examination of the personal names of OE. origin in post-Conquest London has been carried out by E. Ekwall.⁸¹

⁸¹ *Early London Personal Names*, by E. Ekwall. Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup. pp. x + 208.

The majority of the names are of the normal OE. type, but the material includes some rare ones and others which are unrecorded elsewhere. Most of the non-English Germanic names are of Scandinavian origin and are discussed separately, though it is not always possible to decide of some names whether they are of OE. or of French origin. A note deals with the survival of OE. names, *Edmund* and *Edward* being the only ones which are at all common after the thirteenth century. Chapter II discusses the exchange of OE. or Scandinavian names for Norman-French ones. As early as 1100 it had become common for the English to give Norman-French names to their children, with the result that, apart from some special cases, within a few generations the OE. Christian names were almost altogether disused in London. A certain amount of information on the relative position of the better-class English under Norman rule can be derived from the evidence of the personal names. Obviously the Conquest made little difference to their position, and they continued to play a considerable part in local government. In Chapter II nicknames, and surnames derived from them, are dealt with. Nicknames of all the recognized types are frequent in the early sources, but by the end of the thirteenth century they have become regular surnames, and although nicknames evidently continued to be given there was less occasion for using them in documents when definite surnames were available for distinguishing the different people. The final chapter examines the phonology of the names, and shows that they throw a good deal of light on the London dialect at a period from which no literary evidence is available, and also provide useful indications for the dating of some of the ME. sound-changes. The general impression given is that the language of London had become definitely ME. in the first few decades of the twelfth century, and probably as early as c. 1100. Useful notes on the sources, and on the Norman element in the population of early London, add to the interest and value of the book.

The ten thousand or so surnames of Devonshire tax-payers occurring in the Exchequer Subsidy Roll of 1332 have been carefully and expertly examined by C. L. Ewen.²² In Devonshire, as elsewhere, surnames became fixed earlier in boroughs than in

²² *Early Surnames of Devonshire*, by C. L. Ewen. The Author, 31 Marine Drive, Paignton, Devon. pp. 35. 2s.

country districts, in east and south rather than north and west, and generally sooner than in the northern counties. Notable here is the preservation of Anglo-Saxon personal appellatives, in striking contrast with their disuse as baptismal names. Celtic influence is shown to have been fairly important, but as we should expect Norse influence is slight. As so frequently in this kind of material words and forms of place-names hitherto unrecorded are to be met with, together with other words antedating by centuries the earliest examples in *O.E.D.* Finally, examples are given of some of the more curious names, and a list of those whose etymology is as yet uncertain. As we should expect, Ewen's expert examination has provided information of considerable interest and value, but perhaps equally important from one of his experience are the various incidental remarks appearing throughout the pamphlet; on the sources of material for early surnames in the Public Record Office the various difficulties, orthographical, etymological, etc., to be met with in the study of early surnames, and the comparative differences between northern and southern surnames.

The most important article on modern English dialects is E. Dieth, *A New Survey of English Dialects (Essays and Studies, Vol. XXXII)*, which emphasizes, with perhaps some exaggeration, the necessity for and urgency of a survey of the modern English dialects. An examination of previous work on the subject shows how much is still to be done, and it is suggested that the reason why the work of Ellis and Wright was not continued was because of the general impression that the traditional dialects are rapidly disappearing, and the erroneous idea that only the pure dialect is worth investigation. But the historical enquiry is not the only one; rather it is the aim and object of dialect geography by making a simultaneous, synchronic record of what people say at a given time, to reveal all the trends and forces at work. The record of to-day's linguistic situation may or may not throw light on the distribution of dialectal features in OE. or ME., but it will certainly provide answers to many important and interesting questions. Before a new survey can be undertaken the methods and ways of collecting material will have to be carefully examined. They must be closely adapted to the special linguistic conditions of the country, and will be largely determined by the scope of the proposed atlas. Eight maps are given, plotted from the material available in

Ellis, to show the great variety of dialectal English, to familiarize the reader with the geographical method, and to show the advantages of the synchronic distribution in raising problems and suggesting solutions which would otherwise pass unnoticed. Obviously such maps can only be tentative, and cannot show linguistic geography to full advantage. The various interpretations and suggestions can only be carried to their final conclusions when a systematic survey of all the local dialects has become a reality. Nor is this purely a national affair. Wherever inter-lingual dealings have been going on, or where neighbouring languages belong to the same stock, a linguistic atlas helps to throw light on the linguistic and cultural relations across the frontier.

In connexion with this article it should be noted that work on a survey of the modern English dialects has already been commenced by the Philological Society.

A. H. Marckwardt in *An Unmoted Source of English Dialect Vocabulary* (*J.E.G.P.*, April), points out that the only considerable collection of dialect material earlier than Ray is to be found in the manuscript dictionary of OE., compiled between 1561 and 1566, by Laurence Nowell. Nowell was one of the first to recognize that much of the vocabulary of the provincial dialects consisted of words which had been present in older English but had dropped out of the standard language. Consequently when, in compiling his dictionary, he came upon an OE. word which he knew to have survived in one of the dialects he recorded the fact. Having been born and reared at Whalley (Lancs.) he was best qualified to speak of the dialect of that county, and the result is that in his dictionary are to be found 173 Lancashire words, as well as 17 others from elsewhere in England. A list of the Lancashire words is given, and an examination of them suggests that Nowell's ascription of them to Lancashire can be accepted as correct. Since 104 of these words are not included by Ray, and in view of the fact that their authenticity has been established, it would seem that at the very least the Nowell material constitutes a valuable supplement to Ray.

C. H. Livingston in *English 'searce, search', 'Sieve, Strainer'* (*M.L.N.*, Dec.), in discussing the etymology of this dialectal word shows that the modern forms appear to represent two types: *searce* with sibilant *c/s* in the last syllable, and *search* with palata

ch/g, this double series being already represented in fifteenth-century forms. A careful investigation suggests that *search* represents exactly OF. *cerche* (L. **circa*); *searce* and its variants on the other hand reflect alteration of OF. *cerche* due to progressive assimilation (cf. Fr. *cerce*), or to the influence of cognate *cerceau*, or perhaps to contamination with OF. *sas* 'tamis'.

The appearance of Part XI of *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*³³ places us further in Sir William Craigie's debt. The preceding ten numbers have shown readers what to expect, so that little need be said of this particular one. Perhaps what strikes one most clearly is the very large number of Latin and French loan words present in the language, the former appearing mainly under *ex-*, but not as exclusively so as might have been supposed. Most of the articles are comparatively short, the longest, that on *failze*, not extending beyond four columns. Frequent cross-references and the printing of numerous variant forms add considerably to the value and the usefulness of the dictionary.

The sub-title of J. N. Jarvie's *Lallans*³⁴ describes it as 'A selection of Scots words arranged as an English-Scottish dictionary'. The procedure is to give the English word, followed by the word or form which would be used for that sense in Lowland Scots. The latter is given in both ordinary and phonetic spelling, and is followed by a quotation illustrating the use of the word. The method has certain disadvantages, but the more serious of these are obviated by the inclusion of a Scottish-English dictionary in the appendix, which comprises also two original dialect pieces, and lists of words from Gaelic, French, Flemish and Dutch, the last two hardly as accurate as the first two. The author modestly disclaims all pretensions to be a philologist or lexicographer, but the specialist will find this list of some 1500 Scottish words, all with their pronunciations and meanings clearly and carefully defined, a most useful work. After all, if the specialist refuses to get along with the investigation of the modern dialects, he cannot justly complain if the amateur does as much of his work for him as he

³³ *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, by Sir William A. Craigie. Part XI, Exectour-Fisch. O.U.P. pp. 119. 21s.

³⁴ *Lallans*, by J. N. Jarvie. The Author, 23 Craven Hill Gardens, London, W.2. pp. 159. 15s.

can, and must be thankful if that amateur completes a useful task as carefully as has the compiler of this dictionary. It should perhaps also be noted that any money derived from the sale of the book is to go towards the production of a Scottish National Dictionary.

In *Royal Navalese*³⁵ Commander Irving provides an up-to-date glossary of naval slang from the lower deck and the wardroom in which purely technical terms are ignored. Not all the terms included are distinctively naval; some now have a wider circulation, others originated in one of the other services and have passed thence into the Navy. Expressions of the last war are included, but the compiler is more particularly concerned with those which are rapidly becoming obsolete. It is especially useful to have these collected, before they disappear, by an expert who on occasion can give useful information as to their origins.

E. Partridge, *Thanks to the War* (*Quarterly Review*, Jan.), considers, with a note on sources, some of the new words and meanings, e.g. *blitz*, *fifth column*, *quisling*, *flak*, *jeep*, etc., many perhaps ephemeral, which developed during the 1939–45 war.

Useful information on American English is provided by R. D. Mallery,³⁶ though his knowledge of British English leaves something to be desired. After explaining why American English is different from other languages he goes on to compare its spelling, pronunciation and word meanings with those of the English used in this country. There is a good deal here to surprise the British reader; the characteristics of American speech are equally characteristic of other languages, many of the words and spellings given as characteristically British have long since been out of date, and the same appears to be true of some of the pronunciations. On the other hand long and interesting chapters deal with American place and personal names, in the case of the former sketching the characteristics of the place-names of the different regions and providing various lists—those named from English places, from ancient cities or peoples, those due to Biblical influence, places with literary names, etc. Here may be found the twenty *Lebanons*, fifteen *Bethels*, eleven *Romes*, etc., though to suggest that the names of *Muncie*, *Muskegon* and *Osceola* are known all over the world

³⁵ *Royal Navalese*, by J. Irving. Arnold. pp. 196. 7s. 6d.

³⁶ *Our American Language*, by R. D. Mallery. New York: Halcyon House. pp. xii + 276. \$2.

indicates a somewhat limited outlook. The chapter on personal names is particularly interesting for its information on what happens to foreign names in the U.S.A., modern customs of naming, and the comparative popularity of the various Christian and surnames. The remainder of the book is taken up with various lists of words, terms from traditional and present-day American activities, colloquial and slang words, etc., though by no means all of these are distinctively American, nor is it easy to see why some of them have been included at all. The book provides a good deal of useful information in a handy form, but it is to be feared that Americans may get a rather strange idea of British English from some of the statements that appear in it.

The aim of G. Barnes, *General American Speech Sounds*,³⁷ is to present in the simplest possible manner the forty-three sounds of general American speech. Consequently she is not concerned with fine distinctions, but gives only one pronunciation for each vowel or consonant and makes no attempt to distinguish the possible variations, the speech dealt with being the accepted speech of radio and the motion pictures and belonging to no one locality. The first section, designed for the use of beginners, gives an excellent general description of the vowels and consonants, with illustrative sentences and extracts for drill. Section two deals with the same subject in more detail, and is designed for the use of more advanced students, for teachers, and for those specializing in any branch of speech work. Part three is concerned with teaching-learning aids, and with various suggested exercises, and concludes with notes on some bad American speech habits, errors in pronunciation, a hearing test and a pronouncing test. The book contains numerous diagrams and photographs, and all engaged in speech training will find it useful, though since it deals with American speech there are naturally some significant variations from Received Standard English. Note should also be made of C. K. Thomas, *Introduction to the Phonetics of American English*, which it has not been possible to see.

A book mainly concerned with the technical aspects of speech production is G. L. Borchers and C. M. Wise's *Modern Speech*.³⁸

³⁷ *General American Speech Sounds*, by G. Barnes. Boston: Heath. pp. vi + 129.

³⁸ *Modern Speech*, by G. L. Borchers and C. M. Wise. New York: Harcourt, Brace. pp. xii + 522.

The only reason for including it here is that it contains useful information on the various regional standards of American speech, as well as appendices giving, in phonetic script, illustrations of some of the more noteworthy of the American dialects, both regional and those due to the linguistic habits of foreign immigrants.

Apart from this the only works dealing with American dialects that have come to hand are the *Publications of the American Dialect Society*, Nos. 6 and 8. The first of these includes C. M. Woodard, *A Word-List from Virginia and North Carolina*, and B. J. Whiting, *Words from a Glossary of Virginia Words current in Maine*. Woodard gives a word-list, with meanings, mostly from Pamlico County, North Carolina, and Salem, Virginia, whilst Whiting points out words occurring in a former list of Virginian terms which are also current in Maine. No. 8 contains a useful example of a technical vocabulary in E. M. Bryant's *Maple Sugar Language in Vermont*, as well as comments by various people on previous lists of dialect words published in this series.

III

OLD ENGLISH

By R. M. WILSON

IN the *Rise of Wessex*¹ T. D. Reed continues his studies of Britain in the Dark Ages (see *Y.W.*, xxv, 215). He now describes events in the south-west from the landing of Cerdic to the abdication of Ine, thus tracing the gradual evolution of the West Saxon kingdom from its beginnings, through a period of loose federation, to the establishment of a strong central authority. He accepts as true the annals in the *Chronicle* describing the West Saxon settlement, and sets out to show that the apparent contradiction of the archaeological evidence, emphasized by many authorities, may be due rather to a misinterpretation of the latter. Cerdic is assumed to have been the son of a Jutish nobleman by a British mother, and to have attacked the British kingdoms of the south coast, the foundation of the West Saxon kingdom being the result of the subsequent enlistment of Saxon immigrants under his banner. *Cerdices ora* is identified with the region of Fawley, and an examination of the geographical features, aided by the evidence of place-names and archaeology, enables Reed to trace a plan of campaign for the conquests of the sixth century without materially departing from the *Chronicle*. A long chapter on the church of the West Saxons suggests that it was here, through men like Birinus and Aldhelm with their double background, that Roman and Celtic influences met and fused, and it was because of the subjection of Canterbury to Wessex during the seventh century that Theodore, by a process of compromise, was enabled to impose Roman discipline without destroying Celtic culture. A short chapter on Ine's reconstitution of the kingdom is followed by a detailed survey of the Saxon settlement of Dorset, the beginning of which is dated at about the year 500.

Reed certainly succeeds in giving a coherent story of events, and if it necessarily contains a good deal of imaginative reasoning it must be emphasized that he never subordinates the facts to his imagination, the latter being used only to fill in what would other-

¹ *The Rise of Wessex*, by Trelawney D. Reed. Methuen, pp. ix + 354. 18s.

wise be gaps in the story. Much of the reconstruction will necessarily be too tentative for the professional historian to be able to use it, but he will certainly find in the book much of value and interest. Incidentally it should be noted that it contains some archaeological information not apparently available elsewhere, as well as many useful suggestions for future investigation.

The *Origins of Northumbria* (Arch, Aeliana) by P. Hunter Blair is an interesting and stimulating paper which begins with the attempt of the Britons, at the end of the fourth century, to find some means of preventing a recurrence of the disaster of 367. As the result of a phase of vigorous warfare at the time of the Theodosian restoration the frontier was pushed northwards again to the Antonine Wall. The method of holding this reconquered territory was not to man a continuous frontier but to secure its extremities by the creation of two independent states, Strathclyde and Manau, at first under Roman control, later under native British kings. The first of these remained a power in the politics of northern Britain for the next five centuries, but the latter had a shorter history because many of its people including the ruler Cunedda were transferred, probably about the middle of the fifth century, to North Wales to meet a dangerous Scottish threat. The weakened defences of Manau proved inadequate to hold the Picts and consequently Saxon mercenaries were employed. The archaeological evidence suggests that these were settled in the East Riding, including York itself, and though the device was at first successful, by 450 the Saxons had rebelled and were able to secure to themselves York and much of the East Riding. By some process this nucleus developed into the kingdom of Deira, and about a century later, possibly as an offshoot from Deira, a foothold was secured at Bamborough. Vigorous British efforts to dislodge the invaders were unsuccessful and the kingdom of Bernicia emerged, later to be united with Deira and to form part of the single kingdom of Northumbria.

Mrs. D. E. Martin-Clarke's book^a is based on a course of lectures given at the Johns Hopkins University, the chief aim of which was 'to co-ordinate more closely the material common to archae-

^a *Culture in Early Anglo-Saxon England*, by D. E. Martin-Clarke. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, and O.U.P. pp. xi + 100. 28 Plates.

ology and literature'. Archaeology has been chosen as the most promising approach to a unified study of the culture of the period, but it is made clear that a full appreciation can come only from a fusion of various disciplines. The resources of OE. literature, Germanic linguistics, history and folklore must be brought to bear on the subject, and conversely archaeology can often be used to throw light on literary and linguistic problems. Chapter II deals mainly with the Ruthwell Cross and the *Dream of the Rood* as reflecting the art, poetry and religion of the age, and especially the blending of Christian and pagan elements, whilst the following chapter is concerned with the archaeological background of *Beowulf*, and more particularly the burials. These are related to various archaeological discoveries in such a way as to show the interdependence of archaeology and literature. Chapter IV, dealing with the equipment of a warrior, is more technical, and archaeology is used to illustrate and illuminate some of the literary references. The final chapter gives a useful, if necessarily incomplete, account of the Sutton Hoo discoveries, and twenty-eight plates at the end of the book provide useful illustrations to some of the points dealt with. On the whole this is an interesting and successful attempt to co-ordinate the data from widely different fields, and to show how they all help to throw light on each other. Although in detail there may be little that is completely new, the skilful synthesis throws much-needed light on some obscure points.

Here too may be mentioned the useful British Museum *Provisional Guide to the Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, and two other articles dealing with the same subject: H. Maryon, *The Sutton Hoo Helmet* (*Antiquity*, Sept.), and J. W. Walker, *The Battle of Winwaed and the Sutton Hoo Ship Burial* (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*).

Vague references to Byzantine influence on Anglo-Saxon art are not uncommon, and D. T. Rice³ has performed a valuable service by defining exactly what is meant by the Byzantine vein in art, and showing how it has influenced various Anglo-Saxon art forms during the later period. Architecture is omitted as having been adequately dealt with by Clapham, and most of the lecture is concerned with sculpture, the excellence of which has often led to too late a date being assigned to it. The York Virgin and Child is taken

³ *The Byzantine Element in Late Saxon Art*, by D. T. Rice. The William Henry Charlton Memorial Lecture. O.U.P. pp. 20. 3s.

as illustrating the acme of the Saxon sculptor's art, and its Byzantine affinities are traced, along with those of other more primitive examples. In painting and the minor arts enough has survived to show that Byzantine influence was as considerable here as in sculpture, but examples of MS. miniatures showing this influence are comparatively far fewer, and MS. illustration appears to have proceeded far more rapidly towards the formation of a truly English style than any other art. On a smaller scale similar influence is to be traced in enamels and embroidery, and in the former eastern influence is apparent not only in design but also in technique. This Byzantine influence was exerted both directly and through the Ottonian area in South Germany, but with the Norman Conquest it comes almost completely to an end, later links with the East being with Armenia and the Caucasus rather than with Byzantium.

In *Anglo-Saxon Saints and Scholars*⁴ E. S. Duckett is concerned mainly with Aldhelm, Wilfred, Bede and Boniface. Each of these is so described in his background that the complete work provides an excellent and lucid survey of the important century between 650 and 750 when the foundations of Anglo-Saxon culture were being laid. The various strands which go to make up the complex pattern of this culture are well brought out, and more particularly is it made clear that its establishment resulted, in the main, from the actions of a comparatively small group, though various digressions, providing excellent sketches of less important figures, show that the author fully realizes that, apart from the four dealt with more particularly here, others were also involved. As we should expect, the available authorities for the lives of these saints have been carefully examined and the maximum information extracted from them, and in addition various interesting and valuable sidelights on the period are included. For example, in the section on Aldhelm there is to be found also much information on other subjects, on the Latin literature of the period, on the knowledge of Greek in England, the riddle fashion in literature, etc.; and similarly the section dealing with Boniface includes also an account of other Anglo-Saxon missionaries to Germany. Wilfred is dealt with sympathetically, but with a full appreciation of his faults and of the biased nature of the sources, whilst it is particu-

⁴ *Anglo-Saxon Saints and Scholars*, by E. S. Duckett. Macmillan. pp. x + 488. 25s.

larly useful to have a detailed treatment of the non-historical works of Bede. It is perhaps necessary to emphasize the scholarly nature of this book since on occasion the author indulges in an imaginative reconstruction of the background which is quite at variance with her usual factual treatment. It is particularly unfortunate that an example should appear on the opening page since it may lead the reader to ignore the very real contribution to our knowledge of the period which is made by this book; the short four-page epilogue too would have been better omitted.

The Saints' Lives and Chronicles written in England before 750 are dealt with by C. W. Jones,⁵ who is here concerned mainly with a literary criticism of these Latin texts and an analysis of them as they were designed for reading. In the first two chapters, which incidentally contain an excellent brief presentation of the conditions which led to the writing of saints' lives and chronicles during the early Middle Ages, the author elaborates previous suggestions of his own on the origin of chronicles and annals, takes up the annalistic matter in certain works of Bede and plausibly explains how it came to be written and how it fits into the body of the work of which it forms a part. The third chapter deals with time references in the *Ecclesiastical History*, and serves also as a study of Bede's sources, Jones does not agree with the opinion that Bede's chronology is systematic, and maintains that his method of dating will in general be that of the documents on which he is working. In the following chapter he characterizes and analyses saints' lives as a literary form, showing the extent to which they contain conventional elements, and more particularly contrasting Bede's historical *Historia Abbatum* with his hagiographical *Life of Cuthbert*. In these chapters the 'artifice latent in the two Romanesque literary forms of history and hagiography as they were employed by early English writers' has been pointed out, and the fifth shows how Bede attempted to combine these incongruous conventions in a single work. The second part of the book contains not entirely satisfactory translations of *The Oldest Life of Pope St. Gregory the Great* by a monk of Whitby, and Felix of Crowland's *Life of St. Guthlac*, whilst a long appendix gives a detailed analysis of the time references in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*.

⁵ *Saints' Lives and Chronicles in Early England*, by C. W. Jones. Ithaca, New York: Cornell Univ. Press, and O.U.P. pp. xiii + 232. 16s.

Little has appeared on the heroic poetry, and more particularly *Beowulf* has almost escaped notice, the only article on the subject being H. B. Woolf, *Beowulf and Grendel: an Analogue from Burma* (*M.L.N.*, April), which describes a Burmese story dealing with a struggle between a man and a nocturnal monster, and points out the similarities of this to *Beowulf's* fight.

L. Whitbread, *Text-Notes on 'Deor'* (*M.L.N.*, Jan.), in a third and concluding article on the subject, discusses three passages in the poem. He believes that the form *Welund* (1) illustrates a genuine OE. phonological development of *-and* to *-ond* to *-und* in unstressed syllables. He points out that in lines 39 ff., although *gepah* could theoretically represent five or possibly six different forms, the use of *nu* makes it clear that the verb intended must be *gepicgan* 'to receive' and not *geþeon* 'to enjoy'. In addition it is wrong to compare the *londryht* of line 40 with the grant of land made to Widsith, since the latter was an ancestral hereditary estate, whereas the former was something very different, the grant of an estate revocable at the lord's pleasure. Finally Whitbread surveys the meanings given to the refrain (line 7, etc.) and decides that he prefers Lawrence's free 'Old troubles have passed, and present ones may'.

On the Cædmonian poems L. Michel, '*Genesis A*' and the '*Praefatio*' (*M.L.N.*, Dec.), elaborating a suggestion by Holthausen, believes that a good case can be made out for the Preface of the Mass as a source of the opening lines of the *Genesis*. He traces the development of the Preface and suggests that to a religious person of the early eighth century it would appear as a traditional introductory prayer, having as its chief aim the praise of God as the creator and the rule of heaven and the angels. As such it would suit exactly the purpose of the *Genesis* poet, and so he begins his dedicated task in the same manner.

J. W. Lever, '*Paradise Lost*' and the Anglo-Saxon Tradition (*R.E.S.*, April), re-examines the problem of Milton's possible debt to *Genesis B*. The publication of the poem by Junius in 1655 was at about the time that Milton is supposed to have started on *Paradise Lost*, but, although the resemblance between the two poems has long been pointed out, it had previously seemed clear that Milton's knowledge of OE. must have been too slight for him to have read

the *Genesis* for himself. It was of course possible that Junius, whilst living in London, might have known Milton personally and have made him aware of the contents of the poem, but definite information on this point was lacking. Léver now quotes extracts from the letters of Heinsius and Vossius, written in 1651, which show that during the first half of that year Milton and Junius were close acquaintances. He concludes that there is sufficient factual and circumstantial evidence to make it an overwhelming probability that Milton knew and was influenced by the Cædmonian *Genesis*. He points out that the drafts for a miracle play, sketched out before Junius had made his discovery, show how remote Milton's previous conceptions were from the poem he ultimately wrote, and that much of the structure and characterization in *Paradise Lost* is to be traced to the influence of the *Genesis*. Various detailed textual parallels are pointed out, but it is emphasized that these are of minor importance since in practice it is hard to distinguish between direct influence and the accidental recurrence of themes and phrases which form part of a common Christian tradition. On the whole the *Genesis B* was perhaps rather more of an inspiration than a model, and certainly in a class apart from the multifarious sources and influences which go to the making of a great poem.

On the poems of Cynewulf P. Gradon, *Constantine and the Barbarians, A Note on the Old English 'Elene'* (M.L.R., April), deals with the list of tribes on lines 19 ff. of *Elene*, and more particularly with the *Hreðgotan* and the *Hugas*. In all probability the passage is an elaboration of the *gens multa barbarorum* of the *Acta Sanctorum* and allied sources, but it is difficult to say what exactly the poet meant by these particular tribes. An examination of the whole complicated question of the identity of the *Hreðgotan* leads to the conclusion that they were in origin a Scandinavian people, perhaps Danes or Geats, who later became identified with the Goths of southern Europe. In still later texts, whilst one group perpetuates the identification with the Goths of the east, the other represents the original facts. On this count we should expect the Hrethgoths of *Elene* to be the Goths of heroic legend, their appearance in this text being due to the influence of literary tradition. As far as the *Hugas* are concerned, it must be remembered that the MS. reading of the name is *Hunas*, and there is evidence to suggest that there was in fact a Germanic tribe with some such name, and that these

were later confused with the historical Huns whose name was preserved in heroic legend. On the whole it seems that the poet in his list of tribes has adapted a heroic catalogue, perhaps applying originally to the tribes of a definite part of Europe. But in the case of the Huns and the Hrethgoths the names came to be associated with the corresponding tribes of heroic legend, and by the time of Cynewulf may even have come to be used with no precise ethnographical connotation at all.

In *Notes on 'Andreas' and 'Elene' (Stud. Neoph.)* C. Schaar discusses the translation of three passages in *Andreas* and two in *Elene*. In *Andreas* 568 ff. emendation is unnecessary, but *ah* (569) should be read as the interrogative particle not as 'but'; in *Andreas* 603 ff. a change of punctuation is suggested, whilst in *Andreas* 1547 again no emendation is necessary, but we have here to deal with a Latinism consisting of accusative and infinitive as the subject of an impersonal expression. In *Elene* 56 ff. emendation to *sceawede* is accepted, and it is suggested that *he* (59) being due to the initial *h* series in 58 should be omitted and *samnode* taken as the intransitive with *werod* as the subject. Similarly in *Elene* 924 ff. emendation of *wiððan* to *siððan* (925) is accepted, but *ne* (924) is retained, and the sentence beginning *ic awecce* (926) is taken as an adversative asyndeton.

In two articles Erika von Erhardt-Siebold continues her work on the *Riddles* (see *Y.W.*, xxvii, 62-4). In the first, *Old English Riddle No. 57 (P.M.L.A., March)*, she gives a modern version of the riddle which differs from the usual ones only by translating the last half-line as 'The name themselves' instead of the usual 'Name them'. Syntactically either translation is possible, but it is argued that the riddle can only be solved if this new meaning is read into the last half-line. More than one scholar has felt that a bird with an onomatopoeic name was called for, but there appeared to be none known which would fulfil the requirements. The species *corvus* offers outstanding examples of this usage, and consequently if we accept the interpretation of birds that name themselves it is to this family that we should probably turn. Various references in the riddle eliminate all members of the family except the relatively small jackdaw, and if this be the answer then the English imitative name of the bird suggested by the last line must reproduce approxi-

mately the sound *ka*. On the strength of an OE. recorded *ceahhe*, Germanic name cognates, English place-names, provincial modern nomenclature of the bird, and the testimony of this riddle, there is then established an OE. **cā* as the popular onomatopoeic name for the *corvus monedula* in Anglo-Saxon times, giving the solution to this riddle. In the second article, *Old English Riddle No. 95* (*M.L.N.*, Dec.), she gives an edition and translation of this riddle to which the answer 'quill' is suggested.

A. E. H. Swaen, *Notes on Anglo-Saxon Riddles* (*Neophilologus*, July), deals with the following riddles. In Riddle 50 (47, 49) he suggests that the author has misled his readers and that the solution is 'books', the object described being a book-case. 'Shirt' is taken to be the correct solution of 62 (59). A translation of 26 (23, 25) is given, and various difficulties in it are discussed, but the solution 'onion' is regarded as certain, and similarly the usual solution 'dough' is accepted for 46 (43, 45), and various difficulties of interpretation are discussed, as also in 45 (42, 44).

Dealing with the prose works Simeon Potter, *The Old English 'Pastoral Care'* (*Trans. Phil. Soc.*), compares the different purposes of Gregory and Alfred, emphasizes the popularity of the original Latin text, discusses its plan, and goes on to deal with the OE. version. According to medieval standards this is a close translation, with a distinctively literary style, and obviously intended to be read by lettered clerks. The methods of translation are dealt with in detail and it is pointed out that, although the most complete of all Alfred's translations, there are nevertheless various omissions, usually of little importance. Conversely occasional additions are found, more particularly the addition of explanatory phrases and of the sources of quotations. Some important and distinctive aspects of the vocabulary are noted, especially the comparatively numerous *hapaxlegomena*, and Potter then goes on to describe in detail the surviving manuscripts of the OE. version, and to indicate the consequences of the neglect of the three well-preserved Cambridge manuscripts. The various editions of Alfredian texts, from Parker's edition of the Preface to the *Pastoral Care* (1574) to Wilhelm Endter's edition of the *Soliloquies* (1922), are enumerated, and the paramount importance of Sweet's edition of the *Pastoral Care* is emphasized. Despite various faults and numerous

omissions it probably had a wider influence on OE. studies than any other and can never be superseded.

R. W. Zandvoort, *Three Notes on King Alfred's Boethius* (*Eng. Stud.*, June), points out that two passages in Sedgefield's edition of the *Boethius* (pp. 79, 13-16; p. 142, 28-p. 143, 3) which, according to the editor, are not in the Latin original are in fact simply Alfred's adaptations of the Latin. On the other hand an addition by Alfred (p. 29) has not been indicated. It is interesting to note that the well-known *ne geherde non man þa get nanne sciphere* is not one of Alfred's additions, but is due to a misinterpretation of L. *classica* as *classis*, and finally a mistranslation by Sedgefield (p. 100) is corrected.

G. Storms, *An Anglo-Saxon Prescription from the 'Lacnunga'* (*Eng. Stud.*, April), prints and comments on the prescription for a salve against broken bones from MS. Harley 585, and offers it as an example of the close contact between magic and medicine. The prescription includes thirty-five herbs, and Storms suggests reasons for the inclusion of some of these, illustrating from other charms and recipes. An arrangement of the prescription for a new edition is given, and it is suggested that such recipes may have succeeded much better in practice than we might have expected.

Chr. Stapelkamp, *Oude Engelse Plantnamen* (*Eng. Stud.*, Aug.), discusses the names *bismalwe*, *hleomoc*, and *erbe water*, and here too should be mentioned an article on *The Botany of the Saxon Charters* (*Wiltshire Archae. and N.H. Magazine*, June) which it has not been possible to see, but various notes on it in the December number of the magazine by H. C. Brentnall suggest that the original article would be of considerable interest.

According to F. Williamson, *The Tribal Hidage* (*N. & Q.*, 20 Sept., 4 Oct.), was a Mercian compilation of the time of Wulfhere, intended to provide that king with figures on which he could call men to the Mercian fyrd, and also the relative numbers available to his potential enemies. He adds notes on the various names, taking into account the various publications of the *E.P.N.S.*, and concludes that the only large groups not definitely included are the Middle Saxons with their appendage Surrey, whilst the only groups not yet identified are the mysterious *Noxgaga* and *Ohtgaga*.

Another article on *The Tribal Hidage* in *Traditio* by J. C. Russell has not been available. Finally, may be mentioned a literal translation of the opening of an OE. homily on the death of St. Edmund from MS. Bodley 343 as made by L. Whitbread, *The Death of St. Edmund* (*N. & Q.*, 14 June).

IV

MIDDLE ENGLISH

I. CHAUCER

By DOROTHY EVERETT

THE notice of H. S. Bennett's important contribution on Chaucer in *The Oxford History of English Literature* Vol. II, part i will appear in the next volume of *Y.W.* The chapters dealing with fifteenth-century writers are discussed below (see Chap. V. p. 85).

For many years past a large part of Chaucer scholarship has been devoted to the elucidation, often by reference to sources, of isolated lines and passages in Chaucer's works. While it is not likely that this useful work will cease, nor desirable that it should, one may nevertheless welcome three of this year's publications which deal comprehensively with Chaucer's relations with a particular author or work.

Two of these, *Chaucer's Claudian* (*Spec.*, July) and *Chaucer's Use of the 'Teseida'* (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.), are by the same author, Robert A. Pratt. In the first, Pratt continues the work, begun by Karl Young, of examining Chaucer's sources in forms as near as possible to those in which Chaucer himself knew them. Critics and editors have hitherto proceeded as if Chaucer read Claudian in a modern printed edition, but, according to Young, his knowledge was not even derived from any medieval manuscript of Claudian's works, but from the medieval school reader known as the *Liber Catonianus*, where some of Claudian's writings appear together with those of Cato, Maximianus, Statius and others. Eight thirteenth or fourteenth century MSS. of the *Liber Catonianus* which Pratt has examined contain Claudian's *De raptu Proserpinae*, sometimes accompanied by glosses, and Pratt thinks that most of the parallels to Claudian in Chaucer's writings can be traced to this work, though it is possible that in the G Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* (ll. 267-80) Chaucer had in mind the *Laus Serenae*. The stanza in the *Parlement of Foules* (99 ff.) beginning, 'The wery hunter' has been traced to the *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu*

Honorii Augusti, but Pratt shows that it comes from a passage which, though normally appearing as the Preface to the *Panegyricus* in MSS. of Claudian and in modern editions, is found in many of the manuscripts of the *Liber Catonianus* as the Preface to Book III of *De raptu*. He therefore concludes that in this stanza Chaucer was 'returning to a passage familiar to him and his educated readers from their schooldays', and adds that this strengthens the probability that Chaucer's list of trees (*Parlement*, 176 ff.) was influenced by Claudian's list in *De raptu*.

An examination of *De raptu Proserpinae* in the *Liber Catonianus* had led Pratt to an interesting conjecture about the difficult passage in the *Merchant's Tale* (*Cant. Tales*, E 2229-31) which, according to Manly and Rickert, must have read as follows in the latest common scribal ancestor of our copies:

*Folwyng his wyf, the queene Proserpyna,
Which that he rauysshed out of Proserpyna
Whil that she gadered floures in the mede.*

In *De raptu*, Sicily is several times referred to by its poetic name Trinacria. This is variously spelt in MSS. of the *Liber Catonianus*, once as 'trinacrina'. If, following an incorrect spelling, Chaucer had originally written in l. 2230 'Trynacryna', or something like it, he might later have discovered the error and cancelled the word, and the many different readings in the MSS. of the *Canterbury Tales* could then be explained as scribal attempts to fill the gap he had left.

(Pratt concludes that this study of one of Chaucer's sources as it appears in medieval manuscripts has shown that Chaucer's knowledge is less extensive than has been thought, but more intensive, and at the same time 'natural' and 'unpretentious'.)

In Pratt's second publication he examines all the passages which Chaucer based upon Boccaccio's *Teseida*, and shows that his attitude towards it, and the use he made of it, altered with the growth of his art. Boccaccio had a twofold purpose in writing the *Teseida*. He wished to win back the favour of Maria d'Aquino and to write an epic in the high style modelled on the *Thebaid* and the *Aeneid*. Though the invocations, speeches and descriptions are in the epic manner, the plot, the characters and the references to the poet's own experiences in love are better suited to a romance than to an

epic. In Pratt's words, the *Teseida* is a 'leisurely and variegated pseudo-epic, lacking unity . . . of theme, design and execution, . . . but possessing numerous effective descriptions and elevated passages of poetry'.

Assuming a chronological order for Chaucer's poems which agrees in essentials with that adopted by Robinson, Pratt takes the *House of Fame* as the earliest to be affected by the *Teseida*. Here Chaucer shows his interest in Boccaccio's 'classical decorations', and this interest is also seen in the succeeding poems, *Anelida and Arcite*, *The Parlement* and *Troilus*. In *Anelida*, however, the influence of the *Teseida* goes deeper than this, and its curious combination of epic (or pseudo-epic) introduction and romantic complaint is, in Pratt's opinion, directly imitated from the *Teseida*. In *Troilus*, Chaucer still uses Boccaccio's decorative passages, but he has assimilated his poem more thoroughly. Whereas his former 'borrowings' mostly took the form of close translations of particular passages, here there are 'recollections of phrases and ideas from widely scattered stanzas', used so as to increase the dignity of the style. There are several elaborate descriptions of dawn or of spring, containing mythological allusions, which are adapted from the *Teseida*, and there are other 'heightened time descriptions' which, though not derived directly from Boccaccio, are obviously inspired by his example. The transference to *Troilus* of Boccaccio's description of the flight of Arcita's soul may have been made, Pratt thinks, while Chaucer was writing the *Knight's Tale*. If so, he must have realized that the passage was more in keeping with the tone of *Troilus* than with his version of the story of the *Teseida*.

When, in the *Knight's Tale*, Chaucer at last turned to that story, he treated it as courtly romance and discarded most of Boccaccio's epic paraphernalia. He eliminated some of the confusing shifts of scene in the *Teseida*, thereby unifying his plot; and, by making the chief events occur in the month of May in successive years, he created 'a mood of springtime in harmony with his romantic treatment of the story'. Chaucer made his characters subservient to the narrative and we hear less of Theseus, and know less of Emily, than we do in Boccaccio's poem. The personalities of the two young knights are 'somewhat heightened and differentiated', but not too much so. Minor characters have become mere nameless stage-hands, or pieces of decoration, or are omitted altogether. Chaucer was

still interested in the decorative parts of the *Teseida*, as is shown by the portraits of Lygurge and Emetreus and the descriptions of the lists and of Arcite's funeral, but he retained nothing of this kind that would not harmonize with his romantic story, and to some extent he medievalized what he did retain. If, as has been suggested, Boccaccio taught Chaucer to tell a story, it was 'not so much by example as by setting him a task in story-revision', and Pratt shows in detail how some of the problems which the English poet had to face stimulated his artistic growth.

Chaucer and the French Poet 'Graunson',¹ by Haldeen Braddy, is concerned with Sir Oton de Graunson, referred to in *The Complaint of Venus* as 'flour of hem that make in Fraunce', and with his literary relations with Chaucer. A good deal of the material in this book has already appeared in articles (cf., for example, *Y.W.*, xviii, 74; xix, 78-9; xx, 43-4), but it is here combined and expanded into a comprehensive study. Braddy has made much use of the work of A. Piaget and, in particular, of his *Oton de Grandson, sa vie et ses poésies* (1941), and he fully acknowledges his debt.

The first three chapters of this book are mainly concerned with Graunson's reputation while he lived and after his death, and with the events of his adventurous life. Stress is laid on his relations with such notable English figures as the Earl of Cambridge and the Duke of Lancaster, association with whom would have brought him into contact with Chaucer, and attempts are made to fix as exactly as possible the dates of his various sojourns in England. In the next two chapters Braddy examines a number of Chaucer's minor poems in which he thinks the influence of Graunson can be traced. Apart from the *Complaint of Venus*, long recognized as a free translation of three of Graunson's *balades*, the poems most likely to have been affected are *The Parlement of Foules*, *The Complaint of Mars*, and *Lak of Stedfastnesse*. The plan of Graunson's *Songe saint Valentin* has some marked affinities with that of the *Parlement*, and there are several parallels between the matter of Graunson's *Balade de Sens* and Chaucer's *Lak of Stedfastnesse*. A number of Graunson's poems were written to celebrate St. Valentine's Day and, both in the *Parlement* and in the *Complaint of Mars*,

¹ *Chaucer and the French Poet 'Graunson'*, by Haldeen Braddy. Louisiana State Univ. Press. pp. xii + 100. \$2.00.

Chaucer follows the 'Valentine tradition' to some extent. Braddy earlier (cf. *Y.W.*, xx, 43-4) gave his reasons for thinking that we should accept Shirley's testimony that *Mars* is concerned with Isabel of Spain, Duchess of York, and John Holland, 'some tyme duc of Excestre', and he argues that if *Mars*, like Graunson's Valentine poems, refers to contemporary personages and events, this strengthens the probability that *The Parlement*, which certainly resembles Graunson's poems in some respects, also contains such allusions.

Though this book suffers from the author's tendency to conclude rather more than the evidence warrants, it is nevertheless valuable for the light it throws on the nature of Chaucer's courtly poetry. Braddy's remark that 'Chaucer's role as a court poet should be examined afresh' is well worth attention.

The next few publications are grouped together solely because they are, in various ways, concerned with Chaucer's work as a whole.

In *Chaucer's 'Good Ear'* (*R.E.S.*, July) the present writer begins by quoting several passages in which Chaucer seems to be echoing alliterative verse. These, taken together with his mimicry of the tail-rhyme stanza in *Sir Thopas* and his echo of Dante in the *Parlement of Foules*, ll. 127 ff., are evidence of Chaucer's ear for the rhythms of other poets. They are not, however, the only witnesses to his 'good ear'. That he was sensitive to idiosyncracies of speech is certain from his reproduction in the *Reeve's Tale* of the northern dialect of the clerks, John and Aleyn. Other passages, such as the wheedling speech of the Friar in the *Summoner's Tale* and, most notably, the Wife of Bath's *Prologue*, also give the impression that the poet is mimicking living speech; and, though it cannot be proved that he is, such passages are marked by stylistic or linguistic features which are not, at least in the same degree, features of Chaucer's style elsewhere. It is not contended, of course, that Chaucer was doing no more than echo what he had heard. All his aural impressions, whether derived from the living voice or from literature, would merely have provided him with material on which to exercise his art.

Finally it is suggested that this 'good ear' of Chaucer's perhaps in part explains his mastery of a variety of metres and styles, and may, for instance, account for the ease with which,

in *Troilus*, he passes from the grand style to that of familiar conversation.

J. G. Southworth defines his metrical study, *Chaucer's Final -e in Rhyme* (P.M.L.A., Dec.) as 'a study in phonology, not one in morphology'. The point at issue is not whether the final -e's surviving in spelling were ever pronounced, but whether they were pronounced by Chaucer in his poetry. Arising from this is the further question, whether historical grammar provides the best basis for determining the pronunciation of final -e in Chaucer's day. Most scholars have held that, 'for reasons of historical grammar', final -e is to be pronounced, except in certain conditions. Since these conditions do not exist at the end of a line, they hold that final -e in rhyme is always pronounced. A few scholars have, however, maintained that, though many final -e's may be historical survivals, they had ceased to be pronounced in Chaucer's time, with certain exceptions which are to be accounted for on metrical grounds. The conditions for these exceptions do not exist at the end of a line, and therefore the final -e in rhyme is never sounded. This view was first formulated by Joseph Payne (*Philological Transactions*, 1868-9), in answer to F. J. Child's *Observations on the Language of Chaucer* (1861).

Southworth begins his discussion by noting some inconsistencies in Chaucer's treatment of final -e which historical grammar cannot explain, and he remarks that Caxton's edition (presumably he means the first Caxton edition) and fifteenth-century MSS. show that by 1484 at the latest, final -e was not recognized as having an organic function. He then proceeds to examine in some detail Tyrwhitt's theory that Chaucer modelled his verse on the endecasyllabic line of Boccaccio, a theory dependent on the assumption that final -e was regularly pronounced for reasons of historical grammar. Since Child based his *Observations* upon Tyrwhitt's theory, Southworth finds it necessary to disprove it; and, with the aid of the Chaucer *Concordance*, he finds this easy to do. Turning to Child's own work, he notes that, lacking a *Concordance*, he was unable to 'satisfy the first test of a generalization. The unobserved part of the class is in every instance much greater than the observed.' Southworth himself has selected relatively few words from the broader categories enumerated by Child and Kittredge, but he has taken into account every occurrence of these

words, excluding only their appearance in rhyme since this is the point in dispute. His tables show that, in the nouns, indicative preterites and infinitives which he has examined, the final -e's are much more often silent than pronounced, though this is not the case with the adjectives. Southworth therefore assumes that in words belonging to the first three categories, final -e 'had, except for the exigencies of rhythm, become inorganic'. Examining the adjectives more minutely he finds that this is also true of them, and that their apparent nonconformity can be explained by a rule which he formulates as follows: 'When the adjective immediately precedes a noun with an initial consonant, the final -e of the adjective is pronounced. When the adjective follows the noun modified or is in an independent position the -e is silent.' Taking all cases of final -e (except those in rhyme) in the first 100 lines of the *General Prologue*, he notes that if the 'historical grammar theory' is applied the exceptions outnumber the regular examples by five to one. If, on the other hand, the rule is taken to be that final -e's are pronounced for metrical reasons (and are otherwise silent), the ratio is reversed. The proposed rule for adjectives covers half the instances of pronunciation in these 100 lines, and the rest are covered by the general rule. He concludes that if, as his investigations suggest, the 'historical grammar theory' must be abandoned, it follows that 'we need not pronounce, and probably should not pronounce, final -e in rhyme'.

These conclusions deserve careful consideration, for, even though some of Southworth's examples and certain of his arguments are open to criticism, there would appear to be a good deal of evidence in favour of his contentions.

A second edition of R. D. French's *A Chaucer Handbook*² will be welcomed by teachers of Chaucer. Since the first appearance of the book in 1927 much valuable work has been published on Chaucer, including Manly and Rickert's *Text of the 'Canterbury Tales'* and Bryan and Dempster's *The Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's 'Canterbury Tales'*. In his chapter on the *Canterbury Tales* French takes account of some of the new discoveries, particularly those published in *Sources and Analogues*, but elsewhere in the main body of the book he has made only slight alterations

² *A Chaucer Handbook*, by Robert Dudley French. pp. xii + 402. 2nd edition. New York: Crofts. 10s. 6d.

and additions. In the Bibliography, however, a large number of the Chaucerian studies of the last twenty years are mentioned. The few omissions would appear to be mainly non-American publications.

D. S. Bland's essay, *Chaucer and his Critics* (*Journal of the South-West Essex Technical College and School of Art*, Dec.), contains a rapid survey of Chaucerian criticism throughout the centuries. Bland praises Caxton for the independence of his judgment and his 'common-sense discrimination'. He explains the limitations of Dryden's criticism, and recognizes the immense value of the spade-work done by Furnivall and the Chaucer Society. In his opinion the chief task left for the moderns is to analyse individual poems in order to find out what they meant to Chaucer himself and his contemporaries. Though Chaucer's work cannot be regarded as typical of his time, Chaucer was nevertheless a man of his age, and knowledge of his period is essential to a proper understanding of his writings.

Curt A. Zimansky's article, *Chaucer and the School of Provence: a Problem in Eighteenth Century Literary History* (*P.Q.*, Oct. 1946), is, as its title suggests, less concerned with Chaucer than with the attitude of later critics to him. Zimansky's problem is to trace the history of some long-lived errors about Chaucer; particularly the views that he enriched the English language by transplanting Provençal words and that his poetry was derived from that of the Provençal poets. The errors begin at the end of the seventeenth century, in Thomas Rymer's *A Short View of Tragedy*. They are popularized by Dryden, taken over from him by Pope, and repeated by more learned men: Gray, Warton and Walpole, for instance. Even as late as 1863 Alexander Smith's essay on Dunbar contains the statement that Chaucer 'had in his earlier poems been under the influence of the Provençal troubadours'.

In connexion with publications on the *Canterbury Tales* it is worth noting that a Russian translation of the *Tales*, by I. A. Kashkin and O. B. Runner, appeared in 1943.³

³ *Geoffrey Chaucer: Canterbury Tales*, translated by I. A. Kashkin and O. B. Runner, with an introduction and commentary by I. A. Kashkin. Engravings on wood by F. Konstantinov. Moscow: State Publ. Co. for Artistic Literature, 1943.

(Comments on the *General Prologue*, or on the pilgrims, include a note by Gardiner Stillwell entitled *Chaucer's Shipman and the 'Shipman's Gild'* (*N. & Q.*, 17 May) in which he draws attention to the rules and regulations of the Shipman's Gild of Lynn (published in *English Gilds*, *E.E.T.S.*, xl). These rules, which 'look like a rather desperate and probably doomed effort to hold down the boisterous spirits of "good fellows" who were not notable for scrupulously ethical conduct' can be profitably compared with the portrait of the Shipman in the *Canterbury Tales*.)

In '*Questio quid juris*' (*M.L.N.*, Feb.) John W. Spargo comments on the Latin phrase continually repeated by the Summoner. The context of the words is an ancient writ current in English law from about 1300, which was known by its first three words '*quid juris clamat*'. This writ was used to summon a man 'who had refused to comply with a decision concerning title, which decision had been previously rendered', and the modern equivalent would be something like 'N is summoned to show cause for failure to comply'. Since the power of courts of canon law had declined by the end of the fourteenth century, such a writ might well be in frequent use in the court where the Summoner was employed.

Kittredge's view of the Wife of Bath is challenged by Helge Kökeritz in *The Wyf of Bathe and Al Hire Secte* (*P.Q.*, April). In *Chaucer's Discussion of Marriage* (*Mod. Phil.*, ix), Kittredge stated that the Wife was guilty of two heresies, of repudiating the Church's teaching about chastity and marriage, and of demanding that wives should have the mastery over their husbands. He further stated that she was an 'heresiarch or at least a schismatic', who 'set up, and aimed to establish, a new and dangerous sect'. This assumption that the Wife belonged to an heretical sect was evidently based upon the words addressed to her by the Clerk at the end of his Tale—

*for the Wyves love of Bathe—
Whos lyf and al hire secte God mayntene
In heigh maistrie.* (E 1170-2)

—and it is clear that Kittredge misunderstood l. 1171, interpreting 'whos lyf' to mean 'whose way of life' and translating 'hire secte' as 'her sect'. Kökeritz's correct translation of the line, 'Whose

person and whole sex God preserve in high authority', disposes of the allusion to the Wife's 'sect', and renders Kittredge's assumption baseless.

The *Knight's Tale* has come in for a good deal of discussion this year. In addition to Pratt's discussion of the relation of the *Knight's Tale* to the *Teseida* (see p. 69), A. H. Marckwardt writes on *Characterization in Chaucer's 'Knight's Tale'*,⁴ and Henry J. Webb undertakes *A Reinterpretation of Chaucer's Theseus (R.E.S., Oct.)*. Marckwardt examines the characters of Palamon and Arcite which, as he says, have been variously interpreted by critics. He notes that a general result of Chaucer's treatment of his source is to emphasize the part played by the two knights, and that several of his minor alterations also contribute to the portrayal of their characters. A close examination of the knights' actions and speeches throughout the *Tale* certainly indicates that Chaucer intended to differentiate between them, but Marckwardt does not think that the differentiation is along the lines suggested by Root and more fully worked out by Fairchild in his article *Active Arcite, Contemplative Palamon (J.E.G.P., xxvi)*. It is noteworthy that Chaucer omits Boccaccio's two stanzas of characterization (*Teseida*, Book III) which might suggest this particular contrast.

When, in Chaucer's *Tale*, the two knights first see Emily and proceed to argue who has the better claim to her, Arcite shows himself the livelier debater—'he has the readier wit and a keener sense of the reality of the situation'. Arcite grieves at his release from prison because he will no longer be able to see Emily, but he ends his speech of lamentation in a philosophical vein. It is Palamon who describes how Arcite will be able to gather an army to make war on Theseus and win Emily (1285 ff.). Back in Thebes, Arcite does no such thing, but merely suffers the pains of love for a year or two, only returning to Athens when ordered by Mercury to do so. Even then he is content to spend another five years, first serving Emily as her page, and then acting as squire to Theseus.

Palamon's behaviour is very different. When he escapes from prison his intention is to carry out the plan he proposed for Arcite (1480-6), but he is prevented by the meeting with Arcite. In the description of the fight between them, Palamon is compared to a

⁴ *Characterization in Chaucer's 'Knight's Tale'*, by A. H. Marckwardt. Univ. of Michigan Press. pp. 23. 3s.

MIDDLE ENGLISH

lion, Arcite to a tiger, a comparison repeated and enlarged upon in the account of the tournament (2626 ff.). Marckwardt thinks that since Chaucer commonly characterizes the lion as 'wood' and the tiger as cruel and crafty, he may be suggesting a contrast between the 'mad, instinctive type of fighter' and one who was 'a crafty rather than an open fighter'. It is Palamon who rushes into speech when Theseus comes on the scene, and who confesses at once that both of them deserve death. The impetuosity which he shows on this occasion is felt by Marckwardt to be characteristic, and he detects it again in Palamon's prayer (cf. 2254-8). Arcite's prayer to Mars is rather more subtle, and his dying speech bears 'a strong similarity to the attitude towards life, fate and destiny which he expressed at the time he was released from prison'.

Marckwardt concludes that Chaucer made Palamon a man of impulse, one who thinks in terms of 'direct, positive, physical action', and is not intellectually profound. Compared with him, Arcite is less ready to act, and more intellectual. In Marckwardt's opinion the epithets 'active Arcite', 'contemplative Palamon' might almost be reversed, except that Arcite is no idealist; but one who strives to understand the world around him.

It is fitting here to notice the article by A. Lytton Sells on *Boccaccio, Chaucer and Stendhal*⁵ for it deals with the relation between the *Teseida*, the *Knight's Tale* and *Chartreuse de Parme*. The episode in Stendhal's romance of Fabrice, imprisoned in the Tour Fernèse, gazing from his window at Clelia, the governor's daughter, and falling in love with her is parallel to the situation in the *Teseida* where Palamone and Arcita espy from their confinement Emilia, Tesco's sister-in-law, and become similarly enamoured. Sells holds that during his residence in Italy Stendhal had read the *Teseida* and that it gave the inspiration for his description of Fabrice's emotions in prison and after his escape.

But there is 'one curious fact' that suggests that Stendhal may also have drawn on the *Knight's Tale*. In the *Teseida* Arcita and Palamone are merely under ward in an apartment of the palace. It is Chaucer who places them in a 'grete tour',

⁵ In *Rivista di Letterature Moderne*, Settembre-Dicembre 1947. Astri: Casa Editrice Arethusa. Lire 250.

the castle's 'chief dungeon', and it is this which may have furnished the model for Stendhal's 'tour Farnèse' which does not exist in Parma.

In *A Reinterpretation of Chaucer's Theseus*, H. J. Webb endeavours to show the subtlety of Chaucer's portrayal of Theseus. At the time represented in the *Knight's Tale*, Theseus was at the height of his glory, and superficially at least he is a 'noble duc', renowned for his 'chivalrye'. But his story was well known in medieval times and his treatment of Ariadne would not be forgotten by Chaucer or Chaucer's readers. Elsewhere than in the *Knight's Tale*, Chaucer terms him a 'traytour' (*L.G.W.*, 2171 ff.) and calls down a curse upon him (*Hous of Fame*, 408) for his treachery, and Webb thinks that even in the *Knight's Tale* his ignoble nature is hinted at. Chaucer, he holds, emphasizes, more than Boccaccio does, Theseus's total and pointless destruction of Thebes, and his pillaging of the countryside. Theseus's treatment of Palamon and Arcite is harsher in the *Knight's Tale* than in the *Teseida*, where the knights are described as well housed and courteously served. When he releases Arcite (not in mercy but purely to please a friend) while leaving Palamon still a prisoner, he shows himself to be an unjust ruler. Even in some of his kindlier deeds there are, so Webb maintains, hints of selfish motives, and he suggests that the epithet 'noble', which is so often applied to him, may well be used ironically, in much the same sense as the phrase a 'noble post' is used of the Friar.

In *The Intention and Art of 'The Man of Law's Tale'* (*E.L.H.*, Sept.), Bernard I. Duffey considers what kind of tale Chaucer intended his story of Constance to be. The *Tale* has been praised by some critics for its sincerity and its genuine emotional appeal, but others have felt it to be conventional and artificial. What is the truth about this?

Assuming that Trivet's *Chronicle* was the source of the *Tale*, Duffey classifies the alterations which Chaucer made under three headings, those which heighten the emotional appeal of the *Tale*, those which increase its probability, and those concerned with narrative technique. Most alterations of the first kind have a bearing on the character of the heroine, who becomes, as a result of them, a more credible and sympathetic figure. Though Constance is not an example of Chaucer's 'complex character drawing', she

has the power to move the reader, and Duffey analyses the exact nature of her appeal.

Among the alterations and additions which add to the credibility of the story, Duffey includes such passages as that in which Chaucer cites, as parallels to, the miraculous preservation of Constance, God's saving of Daniel in the 'horrible cave' and of Jonah in the 'fisshes mawe' (B 470-504). The various astrologic passages which Chaucer introduces lend importance to the characters by linking their fate to a recognized scheme of things, and the historical references provide a solid background to the events of the *Tale*.

Duffey's conclusion is that Chaucer did not, as W. P. Ker suggested, primarily regard the *Man of Law's Tale* as a romance; rather, he adopted a pious tale, and modified it so that it would appeal in something of the same way as the romances did. But his first intention was to produce a sentimental tale which would be fitting to a middle-class narrator and would satisfy a middle-class audience. Contrary to a common opinion, Duffey considers that the *Man of Law's Tale* is well suited to its teller, and he points to several features in it which are 'symptomatic' of the bourgeois society to which the Man of Law belonged.

In connexion with the much discussed line B 1178 in the *Man of Law's Epilogue* (see *Y.W.*, xxvi, 50), B. J. Whiting produces, in 'By My Fader Soule' *C.T. II [B] 1178*, (*J.E.G.P.*, July), further evidence that a man might swear by his living father's soul. In his example, from *Lestoire de Merlin*, Gawain actually does so in his father's presence.

The first of Haldeen Braddy's *Two Chaucer Notes* (*M.L.N.*, March) is concerned with the account of Pedro of Cyprus in the *Monk's Tale* (B 3581 ff.). This is derived from Machaut's account in *La Prise d'Alexandrie*, which Braddy thinks Chaucer must have known to be inaccurate. The true facts about Pedro's death were well known—that he was slain while in an upright position ('debout et hors de son lit') and able to defend himself. When, therefore, Chaucer followed Machaut in depicting him as slain in his bed, he must, so Braddy thinks, have done so deliberately in order to make Pedro's death an instance of brutal murder, parallel to those in the other three 'Modern Instances'. Braddy queries whether Chaucer may not have been glancing at the increase of

crimes in his own day, or possibly referring to 'some high personage precariously placed'.

In his second note Braddy makes some further suggestions about the interpretation of the puzzling passage at the end of the *Squire's Tale* (F 667-9) which he discussed in his article *The Genre of Chaucer's 'Squire's Tale'* (cf. *Y.W.*, xxiii, 59-61). He believes that a passage in the contemporary *Anonimale Chronicle* may throw some light on it.

In connection with the *Clerk's Tale*, mention may be made of an Italian edition, *La Novella del Chierico di Oxford*,⁶ which appeared in 1939, but which has only now come to hand. In this book Tarquinio Vallese produces a text of the hitherto unedited fifteenth-century manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples (cf. Manly and Rickert's *Cant. Tales*, I, 376 ff.), setting side by side with it photographs of the MS. itself. Vallese's introduction is largely concerned with the early owners of the MS. The name Diomede de Leonardis is mentioned in the MS. and it seems probable that Diomede received it from some member of the De Leonardis family who himself had it from Tommaso Campanella (author of the *Civitas Solis*). The drawing of a bell, which also appears in the MS., would seem to have been frequently used by Campanella as a means of signing his name. (It may be noted that much of Vallese's work on these early owners was utilized by Manly and Rickert in their account of the provenance of the Naples MS.) Since the Naples text is often corrupt, Vallese has provided a list of the readings of Skeat's critical text for comparison with it.

Two articles on the *Merchant's Tale*, by John C. McGalliard, were omitted last year. In the earlier, *Chaucer's 'Merchant's Tale' and Deschamps' 'Miroir de Mariage'* (*P.Q.*, July 1946), the author first discusses the suggestion that Chaucer originally intended the *Merchant's Tale* to be told by a member of a religious order, perhaps the Monk. McGalliard examines in detail the various passages which have been cited to prove this. He remarks that the word *seculer* in E 1251 does not mean 'secular clergy' here, or indeed anywhere else in Chaucer, but, simply, the 'laity', and that

⁶ *La Novella del Chierico di Oxford*, ed. by Tarquinio Vallese, Naples, 1939. pp. 77.

the contrast that is implied in this line is between laymen and churchmen, not between two kinds¹ of churchmen. In reference to marriage, the contrast was a natural one in medieval times and could equally well have been made by a layman or a churchman.

McGalliard next establishes some new parallels between Deschamps's *Miroir* and Chaucer's *Tale*. One of his points is that those names in the *Tale* which indicate the parts played by their bearers (January, May, Placebo, Justinus) may have been suggested by names in the *Miroir* (Franc Vouloir, Folie, Desir, etc.) which have a similar function. He also hazards the suggestion that January's luxuriant garden, 'with its scandalous consummation of unholy love' may have been 'a conscious (though, of course, unavowed) counterpart of Repertoire's celestial garden in which the soul is united with the Son'.

After a full analysis of the quality and structure of the *Miroir*, in which its allegorical nature is stressed, McGalliard proceeds to re-examine the relationship between it and the *Merchant's Tale*. He takes as his starting-point Carleton Brown's discussion (*P.M.L.A.*, xlviii), in which he tried to show that Chaucer 'consciously reversed' the situation he found in the *Miroir*. McGalliard holds he did no such thing. Of the points of difference adduced by Brown, some are explained by the fact that the *Miroir* is allegorical and the *Tale* is not; others cease to be significant in the sense suggested by Brown when it is realized that, contrary to his assumption, there is no debate between Placebo and Justinus on the *pros* and *cons* of marriage, such as takes place in the *Miroir* between the friends of Franc Vouloir. Chaucer does transfer some parts of that debate to his poem, but they do not appear in the speeches of Placebo and Justinus.

The aim of McGalliard's second article, *Chaucerian Comedy: 'The Merchant's Tale', Jonson and Molière* (*P.Q.*, Oct.), is to throw light on the nature of Chaucer's *Tale* by comparing it with the comedies of Jonson and Molière. He claims that the *Merchant's Tale* is unique in Chaucer's work, for though it is like the *Tales* of the Miller and the Reeve in that in all three 'a dupe, fully characterized in the course of the story, pays the penalty of his folly', it differs from them 'in concentration, in mood, and in manner'. To a greater extent than in either, its plot is derived from the 'implications of the characterization'. This might suggest that it

conforms to the pattern of Ben Jonson's comedy of humours, but here again there is a difference. Jonson's characters are 'walking humours', of whose background we know little or nothing, and Jonson's tone is continuously satirical; neither of these things could be said of the *Merchant's Tale*.

The comparison with Molière is more illuminating. Molière's important figures have more humanity than Jonson's. In his comedies the dupe is the central figure; he is characterized more fully than anyone else and the plot and action depend upon his character. McGalliard shows what pains Chaucer takes to present January as a man with an *idée fixe*, and how he uses both objective description and self-revelation for this purpose. January's state of mind, thus amply delineated, is the cause of the action that follows. In its essentials, therefore, the comedy of Chaucer's *Tale* is of the same kind as Molière's; but, as McGalliard shows, the similarities between it and Molière's comedies do not end here. In several minor ways the methods of the two comic writers resemble each other. Both, for instance, introduce a friend who attempts to recall the central character to a sense of reason (Justinus in Chaucer's *Tale*, Cléante in *Tartuffe*), and there are some surprising parallels in incident and situation. Both writers, he concludes, call forth the 'thoughtful laughter of the Comic Spirit', but in both that laughter unites with the 'earthy guffaws of the multitude'.

The last of the publications concerned with the *Cant. Tales* is a note by A. Dickson, 'Canterbury Tales', I, 355 ff. (*M.L.N.*, Dec.) in which he identifies the hitherto untraced words of Moses in the *Parson's Tale* with a passage in the Song of Moses, Exodus xv, 9 (Vulgate).

The passage in *Troilus* which is the subject of E. G. Mason's note 'Troilus', II, 1298 (*M.L.R.*, July) is that in which Pandarus, reflecting on Criseyde's statement that she will reward Troilus 'but with sighte', thinks that she will not hold to this opinion 'fully yeres two'. T. A. Kirby referred to Andreas Capellanus as an authority for a two-year period of widowhood (cf. *Y.W.*, xix, 70), but Mason shows that two of the passages mentioned by Kirby refer to the death of a lover, not of a husband, and that the third seems rather to argue for a short period of widowhood.

Andreas cannot, therefore, be held accountable for Chaucer's 'yeres two'.

Marie P. Hamilton, in *Bernard the Monk: Postscript* (M.L.N., March), refers to two passages in the works of Francis Thynne which have some bearing on the saying about 'Bernard the monk' in the *Legend of Good Women*, l. 16. Thynne's references seem to suggest that R. M. Smith (cf. *Y.W.*, xxvii, 80) was right in supposing that the Bernard referred to was St. Bernard of Clairvaux, but that Skeat and Robinson were right in assuming that Chaucer was merely repeating a proverb. In the *Animadversions*, Thynne writes 'for as the proverbe is, "Barnardus", or as others have, "Alanus, non videt omnia" '.

In *Chaucer and the Idea of Unfaithful Men* (M.L.N., Dec.), R. M. Lumiansky appears to be following up an article by P.F. Baum on the *Legend* (cf. *Y.W.*, xxvi, 57-8). Lumiansky begins by referring to ll. 187-95 of the *Manciple's Tale*, where Chaucer speaks of the unfaithfulness of men, an idea 'which holds a central position in much of the *Legend of Good Women*'. In the *Manciple's Tale* these lines form a conclusion to the digression in which the examples of the caged bird, the cat and the she-wolf are cited to show that Phebus's kindly treatment of his wife is not likely to keep her faithful, since no man can constrain a creature against its nature. As a conclusion, they are quite illogical, and Lumiansky thinks that the whole argument of the *Legend* is 'almost equally illogical and inconsistent'. For Chaucer depicts himself as obliged to do penance for his heresy against Love by writing of 'trewe' women; but, instead, in every legend except those of Cleopatra and Thisbe, the story is so presented that man's unfaithfulness is much more stressed than woman's constancy, and even in these two exceptions, there is censure of the man. Yet another instance of Chaucer's harping on this idea appears in *Troilus*, v, 1778 ff., where, having said that he would more gladly write of 'Penelopees trouthe and good Alceste' than of Criseyde, he pauses to express his sympathy for women who are betrayed and to warn women against men.

In the *Hous of Fame*, 1070-81, the eagle explains to Chaucer that every speech, when it is come to the Hous of Fame, assumes the appearance of the person who speaks it on earth. J. T. Williams in

his note *Words into Images in Chaucer's 'Hous of Fame'* (*M.L.N.*, Nov.) remarks that, though parallels have been produced for Chaucer's description of the way sound rises, these particular lines have hitherto received no comment. He has, however, found something like them in the Hebrew work, the *Zohar* (compiled in the thirteenth century), in a discourse on the sixteenth verse of the third chapter of Malachi. The parallel is not exact, for the words which ascend on high are holy words, spoken by righteous men. Hence, even if it could be shown that Chaucer was likely to have known the *Zohar*, the passage can hardly have been his source, and Williams claims no more for it than that it forms an interesting analogue.

The importance of Chaucer's mission to Bernabo Visconti in the year 1378 is emphasized by E. P. Kuhl in *Why was Chaucer sent to Milan in 1378?* (*M.L.N.*, Jan.). He conjectures that the reason for the mission was the death of Pope Gregory XI, which occurred forty-four days before Chaucer received his letters of protection, and which would have far-reaching effects on the Hundred Years War. Kuhl maintains that 'all evidence points to a momentous mission . . . one involving a crisis in the history of western civilization, involving in fact the very fate of England itself'; but he does not make it clear what the evidence is, nor what he thinks the precise purpose of the mission may have been.

In an article of the preceding year, *Chaucer the Patriot* (*P.Q.*, July 1946), the same writer considers the implications of certain records of the year 1377-8 which are directly or indirectly concerned with Chaucer. Kuhl deduces from the known facts that, in a period of great corruption, Chaucer was relied upon as incorruptible, and patriotic. Certainly he 'had the confidence of men who worked for the good of England'.

The record of Chaucer allusions is brought up to date by H. B. Woolf's reference, in *Chaucer 'Redivivus'* (*M.L.N.*, April), to the series of verse portraits in the Chaucerian manner contributed by G. H. Vallins to *Punch* in recent years.

V

MIDDLE ENGLISH

II. BEFORE AND AFTER CHAUCER

By GLADYS D. WILLCOCK

1947 has been a reasonably full year. It has seen the publication of two works of capital importance in literary history and editorial accomplishment and two or three other substantial books. The unity of *Piers Plowman* has come once more into the limelight. Work on medieval romance and its background has continued actively and seems to show a widening gap between the supporters of myth and entertainment on the one hand and of explicit Christian allegorizing on the other. There have been one or two lively excursions into by-ways. Another year of 'peace' has done less than might have been expected to help the tracing and procurement of foreign works and of some periodicals. It is pleasant, however, to record that for the first time since 1939 *London Mediaeval Studies* has resumed publication. Though the date of its long-delayed second number is actually 1948, it seemed best to notice its relevant contents now; one would not wish to defer congratulations on its reappearance, and the bulk of the contents go back to 1939. The order of consideration in this chapter remains much as before. First will come works of general, comparative or cognate interest, then the romances, followed by ME. verse, sacred and secular. Prose will precede drama and finally will come linguistic and miscellaneous topics.

A brief mention must suffice of a few studies of broadly comparative scope. The subject of courtly love has been attracting increasing attention lately. Alexander J. Denomy in his *Heresy of Courtly Love*¹ considers it (from a Catholic point of view) on its philosophic, Averrhoist plane. Those who were interested in Martin Werner's *Die Entstehung des christlichen Dogmas* (Bern, 1941) will probably wish to turn to Samuel Singer's article

¹ *The Heresy of Courtly Love*, by Alexander J. Denomy. New York: Dedan McMullen Co. pp. 92.

(P.M.L.A., Dec.) *Dogma und Dichtung des Mittelalters* which concerns itself with the imaginative and other processes by which dogma passed into poetry. Though there is little that bears directly on Middle English writings in R. W. Hunt's notes on *The Collection of Medieval Latin Verse in MS. Cotton Titus, D. xxiv (Med. Aev.)*, some of them involve our Anglo-Latin writers Giraldus Cambrensis and William of Malmesbury, or use parallel or complementary material from our medieval MS. collections.

That most germinal Anglo-Latin writer, Geoffrey of Monmouth, in particular his *Use of the Bible in the 'Historia Regum Britanniae'*, inspires an article by Jacob Hammer (*John Rylands Lib. Bull.*, May). Since the Bible was habitual reading for clerics, one would expect to find this reading reflected in the *Historia*. It has, indeed, been suggested that the *Historia* was planned as a kind of parallel to the history of the Jews. Biblical motives and echoes have been traced, though Geoffrey's well-known skill in breaking up and disguising material has made his biblical, like his other debts, none too easy to pin down. So far, however, the imprint of the language on Geoffrey's own Latin has attracted less attention. The bulk of this article consists of notes of parallels between the Latin phrasing of the Bible and that of the *Historia*.

R. S. Loomis opens up one of his fascinating vistas in *From Segontium to Sinadon—the Legends of a Cité Gaste*. From the anonymous Anglo-Saxon poet of *The Ruin* to Gibbon reflecting on the Capitol, Roman architectural remains have had a peculiar power to stretch the mind and wake imagination. Familiar as we may be with this aspect of *le sentiment du passé*, we do not, Loomis contends, fully realize how much of medieval legend and romance 'was twined about these crumbling walls'.

Segontium (Caer Seint) near the base of Snowdon on the Menai Strait inspired motives in Celtic-Latin legend (Nennius and Geoffrey of Monmouth), in the Welsh *Dregh of Maxen* and legends of beautiful Elen, and (with distortion) in the French of the *Conte del Graal*. In the Breton *contes* Caer Seint, from its situation, became *via* 'Snauedun' and variants the romantic Sinadon (cf. *Le Bel Unconnu, Libeaus Desconus*), and underlies Malory's corruption 'Kynkenadon'. This is a sample investigation of a line which,

Loomis believes, may ultimately have much to tell us about the whole matter of Britain.

It is the critics nowadays who quarter the earth on the quest of the Grail. Helen Adolf in *New Light on Oriental Sources for Wolfram's 'Parzifal' and other Grail Romances* (P.M.L.A., June) is led towards Abyssinia and other regions in the East. But the far-ranging hunt for analogues also provokes reaction. Urban T. Holmes, Jr., in *A New Interpretation of Chrétien's 'Conte del Graal'* (*S. in Ph.*, July) makes a radical effort to cut away all the top-hamper of 'Celtic tales, fairy lore, Byzantine Mass, metonymy and mistakes' by which the *Conte* (and not only the *Conte*, of course) is explained. What we must keep in mind, we are told, is the basic medieval distinction between *matière* and *sens*. Under the heading of *sens*, St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews was the inspiration of the Quest of the Grail. The Castle of the Grail is a symbolical representation of Solomon's Temple (with manna, Aaron's rod and so on thrown in) and the theme of what we once thought romance is the Conversion of the Jews.

The details of an OF. work are not the concern of this chapter, but the origins and motivation of one of our own great stories are of interest in and beyond the Middle English field. Holmes is not unconscious of the hardihood of his undertaking, and this very hardihood is stimulating.

Two Notes by R. H. Walpole will provide a transition to the field of ME. romance; both grow out of his recent researches on the Auchinleck *Otuel and Roland*, the *pseudo-Turpin* and other French sources. In one (*Sir Bertram the baner in the ME. Romance 'Otuel and Roland'* (M.L.N., March) he seeks to explain how this knight, who is unknown to the *pseudo-Turpin* compiler, appears to be fighting by the side of Roland and Oliver. He rejects the equation of 'baner' with 'bannerer' (i.e. 'standard-bearer') and with 'banier' (A.N. *baner*, 'crier of the ban', 'herald'). He identifies the knight with Bertram, son of Naimes, who (the father) was popular with the *jongleurs* and regularly described by them as a Bavarian, i.e. *baver*. This epithet is nowhere applied to the son, but Walpole, by a neat argument from the rhymes, uncovers a scribal corruption in the text and leaves little doubt that the son could (or did here) acquire the same epithet. The Auchinleck re-

dactor, in working up his material, helps himself out with names 'to keep his rhymes going'. Thus 'Sir Gaumfres the king' has no function but to rhyme with 'lording' and 'þryng'; in the same way 'baver' supplied him with a rhyme for 'Oliver'; miswriting as 'baner' has left the rhyme incomplete. This argument from the rhyme seems strong.

The second Note by Walpole is a by-product of his *Turpin* investigations and has a less direct connection with ME. writings. In his *Note to the Meredith-Jones Edition of the 'Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi ou Chronique du pseudo-Turpin'*, (Spec., April), he recalls that all the group C MSS. of the *pseudo-Turpin* are to be found in this country, as if a local version was established and popularized here. A C MS. must have found its way to England and 'proliferated'. Walpole's investigations support the Meredith-Jones conjectures on this subject; he adds that an explanation may be found in Anglo-French relationships during a phase (c. 1212) of King John's reign.

It is almost inevitable that the sociological approach to the romances, as to other branches of literature, should strengthen in these days. When Margaret A. Gist takes up the topics of Love and War in the romances,² she looks on them, not as story-tellers' themes, but as experimental material for testing the nexus between the romances and actual living conditions.

Since the ME. romances are in bulk derived from French originals and might owe to them their laws and customs as well as their stories, Miss Gist is committed to a preliminary comparison to determine what allowance must be made for the secondary character of the English romances. In her view the ME. redactors generally tone down much of the blunter language of their originals, their moral angle is more sharply stressed, an inherent sobriety can be recognized and there is a prevalent resistance to courtly love. Whether these trends constitute sufficient grounds for claiming independence in social testimony for the English romancers is open to some doubt; they may tell us more about what the Anglo-Saxon thought should be said than how he lived in sin or wedlock or how he died on battlefields. They may fairly be held to show that the

² *Love and War in the Middle English Romances*, by Margaret Adlum Gist. Univ. of Pennsylvania Press and O.U.P., pp. 214. \$4.

translators and compilers were aware of differences when they met them and were guided in their alterations by a certain regard for the actual and possible.

Under each head Miss Gist's evidence of the actual offers us a pretty grim picture. Nothing as cheerful as the Wife of Bath breaks through. Under each head, too, she finds that the romancers in general keep pace with the world revealed by her 'controls'. As story-tellers, the romancers will not pause over the *minutiae* of marriage-laws or truces after battles, but their handling in its main lines will follow the factual world more closely than many generalizations about the 'world of romance' would lead one to expect. In her view, neither in actual conditions nor in fiction, did Virgin-worship, courtly love or chivalry soften appreciably the hard outlines of a life which offered little to most people this side of the grave.

This is a careful, substantial study. Some reservations will, however, occur to many readers. The result is, inevitably, to whittle away the freedom and expansiveness of romance as a genre—to lessen the element of 'escape'. The concentration in the abundant citations on points of law, custom, punishment, rights, give the romances as handled here a more documentary air than they have when read *in extenso*. Thus, between allegory and the facts of life, romance becomes less and less 'romantic'.

Sir Gawain and the Green Knight has now for the first time been translated into French.³ The translation, by Emile Pons, belongs to a series in which a number of French *angliste* studies and editions by Mossé, Delcourt, Jolivet and others have appeared or are in preparation. French and English versions are printed on opposite pages and are preceded by an introduction covering the *Gawain*-question. There are no Notes but the Introduction contains detailed discussion of two or three points of specialized interest concerning interpretation. The translation aims at following the English word-order as far as possible and reproduces its strophic structure.

The Introduction, rightly and necessarily a condensed synthesis for students of prolegomena material, will not be summarized here. It will be more useful to indicate where, on much-

³ *Sir Gauvain et le Chevalier Vert*, traduction . . . , par Emile Pons. Paris, Aubier: *Bibliothèque de Philologie Germanique*, 1946. pp. 264.

debated topics, the editor has his own views or preference to state. While not believing that the *Gawain*-poet was likely to be led into mere topicality, he is inclined to attach considerable weight to the links with the foundation of the Order of the Garter first discerned by Gollancz and later felt to be worth investigation by H. Savage and others (see *Y.W.*, xix, 85). As to the authorship of the four poems in the *Gawain* MS., he seems to be open to the view that common language and collocation in one MS. have led to too easy an assumption of a single author for all: *Cleanness* and *Patience* lack architecture and even between *Gawain* and *Pearl* there are striking differences of word and phrase. He does not accept the 'pearl-link' between the four poems. He rules out any connexion with Boccaccio's *Olympia*. Quite rightly he refuses to give space to the various identifications of the author with known writers of the fourteenth century, such as Huchown. The emphasis of Pons' approach is literary and appreciative. He writes with warmth and insight on the *sensibilité profonde du poète*, on the *sentiment de la nature*, on the spiritual depth of the quest-theme, on the rare poetic quality of the treatment of solitude. *Gawain* is in effect pushed further from the 'romantic'. Indeed, the poem grows more moral, religious and even mystical with every succeeding editor or commentator.

To turn the highly idiosyncratic expression of the *Gawain*-poet into Modern French with its long tradition of *clarté* might well seem a task of almost desperate hardihood, and it would be too much to claim that all traps have been successfully avoided (see further a review by Beatrice White (*M.L.N.*, April 1948)).

In the course of his Introduction, Pons sheds new light on the hunting terminology and by comparison with the standard fourteenth-century *Arts de Venerie* he shows good reason to believe that in spite of the vigour and virtuosity of his hunting scenes, the poet had for the most part followed *la chasse* in books. Discussing the 'capados' which is a part of Gawain's knightly equipment, Pons rejects translation as some kind of hood and suggests instead a shaped piece of leather or material, put on the back and enclosing the neck, on which the hauberk and coat of mail were placed.

Legal Phraseology in a passage in 'Pearl' is the title of an article by Dorothy Everett and Naomi D. Hurnand in *Med. Aev.* A stanza (ll. 697-708) is printed, and the rest of the Note is devoted to show-

ing that neither Osgood nor Gollancz has offered a satisfactory solution of the difficulties which have been felt in three legal terms —‘alegge’, ‘in-nome’, and ‘ryȝt’. The fullest discussion is of ‘in-nome’ (*ge-numen*) which is regarded as possibly a special legal modification of OE. *niman* under the influence of legal Lat. *excipere*, ‘to capture’, ‘corner’, i.e. ‘refute’. The fact that no French legal term was at hand to render *excipere* is connected with the use of English in the law-courts.

In the field of fourteenth-century religious verse there is one article to mention before we turn to a rich crop of studies of *Piers Plowman*. D. W. Robertson, Jr., in *The Cultural Tradition of ‘Handlyng Synne’* (*Spec.*, April), argues that the ‘kind’ to which this verse-treatise belongs has been misunderstood. It has been held to be an ‘encyclopedia’, but there are too many omissions; it has been pigeonholed with ‘collections of stories’ but its tales are functionally as well as traditionally *exempla*. *Handlyng Synne*, like the *Manuel des Péchés*, belongs, Robertson believes, to the genre of ‘penitential’. The history of the Penitential from Theodore of Tarsus onward is sketched, and it is shown that the *Manuel* appeared at a time of great elaboration of, and enthusiasm for, the sacrament of penance. *Handlyng Synne* is less formally penitential in its opening, but it can be shown to embody the formulae of self-examination by penitents and even to resemble modern penitential guides. Its affiliations, Robertson suggests, have been obscured by its direction to the layman.

There are four *Piers Plowman* studies to be noted this year. Two shorter articles may be considered before two frontal attacks on the Manly tradition.

J. H. G. Grattan in *The Text of ‘Piers Plowman’: critical lucubrations with special reference to the independent substitution of similars* (*S. in Ph.*, Oct.), takes up a point of critical method made in a joint article with R. W. Chambers in 1931. In establishing ‘families’ of MSS., it was urged, a complicating variation, entitled by the authors ‘independent substitution of similars’ had been inadequately recognized. In this article fuller illustration is given of this independent substitution in MSS. belonging to distant families; eight principal MSS of the A-version are used, including the newly discovered Chaderton MS. in Liverpool University.

The recognition of this principle of independent substitution will, it is contended, retrench the theories of mixing and contamination with which the classification of MSS. has, indeed, been much be-devilled.

The last article in *London Mediaeval Studies*, II, is entitled *Notes on the C-text of 'Piers Plowman'* by A. G. Mitchell. The notes are exegetical and cover four passages from the C-text:

- (1) Passus II, l. 95. 'And for no lordene loue . . . partie.'
- (2) Passus III, ll. 16-18. 'Here aray . . . knowen.'
- (3) Passus, IV, ll. 140-2. 'In the Castel of Corf . . . my lady.'
- (4) A long passage, Passus, IV, ll. 77-120.

In the last passage, where the relation of C-and B-text is a matter of principal importance, Mitchell finds no evidence of 'clumsy interpolation'—no evidence that the author of the C-text was anyone but the poet of B. This note thus provides an easy transition to the articles which take up once more the problem of single *versus* multiple authorship.

The same number of *London Mediaeval Studies* publishes posthumously some of R. W. Chambers's last words on a subject very near his heart—William Langland (or Longland), once real and living poet, no allegorical shadow or fictitious entity created merely to dream. The article, entitled *Robert or William Longland*, first disposes of the 'ghost', Robert Longland, conjured by sixteenth-century antiquaries out of a scribal miswriting of 'Thus robed in russet . . .' (*Vita de Do Wel*, l. i) as 'Thus Roberd in russet . . .' (and variants). Chambers then moves to re-affirmation of his conviction of the unity of the *Piers Plowman* corpus by upholding the reality and consistency of the person 'Will' in all three versions. He shows that, in France and England, the conventions of Dream-allegory identified poet and dreamer, though without prosaic biographical exactitude. Chaucer does not dissolve into an allegorical wraith because he has a conversation with an eagle on the way to a House of Fame. It might be added here that when the eagle finds him 'noyous for to carry' most readers, perhaps, are apt to recognize a touch from life. The 'length' of William the dreamer may be accepted in the same way. As Chambers puts it: 'The A-text . . . claims to have been written by a tall man called "Will": the C-text claims to have been written by a tall man named

“Will”. When the visionary in the B-text says “My name is Long Will”, is it reasonable to invent the theory of a “popular locution” in order to get rid of this piece of evidence for single authorship?”

The ingenious disintegrator can find a way round this. The marrow of the argument lies in the Dream-allegory conventions and the supporting literary and comparative survey, in the course of which Chambers illumined much besides his immediate subject. In the final section of the article he turned to that valuable scrap of external evidence—the entry in the ‘South Wales Border Memoranda’ inscribed in an early MS. of the C-text discovered independently by Samuel Moore (*Mod. Phil.*, 1914) and Allan Bright (*New Light on ‘Piers Plowman’*, 1928), a discovery which Bright reinforced by his topographical researches in the Malvern region. Long Will of the B-text has gained some substance, if not much, since Manly’s day.

To Chambers the reality of William Langland was a matter of passionate concern as the maker and the ground of unity of all forms of the poem. Characteristically, Chambers issued forth like a Saint George to do battle with Manly and all his dragon-brood. B. F. Huppé in his mainly quite different textual and analytic approach, *The Authorship of the A and B Texts of ‘Piers Plowman’* (*Spec.*, Oct.), seems content, where his argument touches similar ground, to claim no more than a consistently developed *dramatic* rôle of seeker and learner. He is, however, an equally convinced opponent of multiple authorship. It is his aim to dispose of this theory for good and all by attacking Manly’s most substantial argument—the alleged failure of the B-reviser to understand the A-text. This necessitates close analysis and comparison of the two versions, the printing of divergent passages and a point by point tackle. It is, naturally, Huppé’s object to show that the same mind is at work in B and that the B-text, fairly examined, does not reveal the structural weakness which the disintegrators have held to show uncertainty as to the original plan and how to work it out. Huppé believes that there was a much shorter interval between the breaking off of A and the beginning of B than Skeat and others postulated (see *Y.W.*, xx, 60) and this helps his argument. Along the lines of close comparison he works towards the demonstration that the poem grows organically, not explicitly from first to last (since the C-text is not considered here) but implicitly, since, unity

between A and B being established, the gravamen of the attack upon unity of conception has been met.

On the whole in recent years disintegration, in this field as in others, has been on the retreat. It will be interesting to see whether surviving disintegrators will now bring forth fresh shots from their lockers.

ME. lyrical, occasional and miscellaneous verse can be introduced by O. Arngart's article 'As hende as hak in chete' (*Eng. Stud.*, June). This is an addition to earlier notes that have appeared on readings in Carleton Browne's *ME. Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century*. In the poem 'I repent of blaming women' the line 'Al hende as hak in chete' has proved difficult to gloss. 'Hawk' seems to be the likeliest meaning for 'hak'. The form 'chete' is not elsewhere paralleled but derivation from OE. *cyte*, *cete*, 'hut', 'cabin', 'cell', is generally accepted. Yet no one can feel that to read 'as courteous as a hawk in a hut (or chamber)' has much point. 'Hende in halle' is, of course, a stock phrase and Arngart points out that in *Pearl* (l. 184) we come as close to the line above as 'I stod as hende as hawk in halle'. In search of 'point' Arngart suggests that the line is ironic and 'chete', instead of the expected 'halle', a deliberate anti-climax. He cites very relevantly *Piers Plowman*, Passus V, l. 261, 'I am holden as hende as hounde is in kyche'.

Further glosses on the same anthology of ME. lyrics are provided by Howard Meroney in *Line Notes on the Early English Lyric* (*M.L.N.*, March). In spite of all the editorial work accomplished in recent years, many ME. lyrics remain very hard going for students. Meroney offers a series of explanatory notes supplementing or modifying Carleton Browne's. The most interesting are those which seek to make better sense of the amusing but obscure Man-in-the-Moon poem (No. 89). A clue from *Piers Plowman* once more (C-text, Passus XIV, ll. 43 ff.) about forfeiture of clothes as compensation for trespassing certainly helps to give a meaning to part of the poem. •

Samuel Purchas, in his *Pilgrimes* 1625, printed a ME. topographical poem which has been almost entirely overlooked. An account of it is given by E. S. de Beer under the title of *An English Fifteenth-Century Pilgrimage Poem* (*N. & Q.*, 2 Dec. 1944) which

escaped notice at the proper time. The poem describes an actual pilgrimage to Compostella, Rome and Jerusalem which, it can be shown, took place in 1422. Purchas was therefore commendably accurate in his deduction or guess that the poem was two hundred years old. No other text survives. From the account given in the article the poem scarcely qualifies as travel literature. The author has no technique of description and records few incidents. He had an eye for signs of prosperity or poverty, for crops and products. The word 'raspis' (raspberries) is recorded here a hundred years before the first date noted in the *O.E.D.* A large part of de Beer's article is devoted to the place-names.

Arthur K. Moore in a brief article *Mixed Tradition in the Carols of Holly and Ivy* (*M.L.N.*, Dec.) starts from the generally accepted idea of some old sex symbolism masked by Christian and later accretions in the Holly and Ivy carols. He believes that the sex differentiation into 'he-holly' and 'she-holly' was early recognized and the holly therefore naturally lent itself to ritual and poetry based on opposition between the sexes. But the carols in question do not oppose two kinds of holly, but holly and ivy. Moore assumes that ivy was a late substitution, when the sex differentiation in holly was forgotten or obscured. Yet earlier in the article he had made it clear that the expressions 'he-holly' and 'she-holly' had been supplied to him by Gascoigne, writing in 1575. The notion of late substitution is not substantiated. This Note, though it adds to the background of the subject, will not supersede R. L. Green's account in *English Carols*. Green had evidence of a fairly wide diffusion of a holly and ivy association. A good deal that is ancient clings to ivy as to holly.

It has been usual to treat the popular ballad and ballad-origins in the context of late Medieval verse, though the ballad is timeless and there are grounds for thinking that it reached maximum florescence in the Elizabethan period. Since, however, there are ballads preserved in ME. MSS. (the Judas ballad goes back to the thirteenth century), it has its place among ME. verse forms and, accordingly, Sergio Baldi's *Ballate Popolari d'Inghilterra e di Scozia*⁴ may not unfittingly be considered after the carol, though

⁴ *Ballate Popolari d'Inghilterra e di Scozia*, a cura di Sergio Baldi. Firenze: G. C. Sansoni. pp. xlviii + 294. l. 200.

the selection is not limited to ballads of known mediæval provenance. All are traditional.

Baldi's object is to illustrate the Anglo-Scots ballad tradition by offering a dual text (English and Italian) of a selection of ballads designed to illustrate the nature, scope and development of the popular ballad in this island. He arranges the ballads in six groups—religious, of mediæval origin, greenwood, historical and love ballads, and, finally, of remote popular tradition. There is no intention to be exhaustive; under each head we are offered a group of the best or most significant ballads selected so as to illustrate as comprehensively as the limits allow the salient points of substance, form and evolution. The selection is preceded by a careful and judicious Introduction. Theories of ballad origin are reviewed with clear awareness that *il romanticismo tedesco* and the nineteenth-century abstraction of the 'collective mind' no longer satisfy the critical historian. In our own century, indeed, the ballad, or at least ballad writing has (like so much else) been assigned to that almost incredibly versatile mediæval clerical mind. Fortified by Croce's retention of a broadly valid distinction between the poetry of the people and the poetry of Art, Baldi will not hand over the ballad to the ever-encroaching clerks, though perhaps only a somewhat open definition like *poesia tradizionale di tono popolare* is felt to be safe. Following in some measure Schmidt (*Die Entwicklung der engl.-schot. Volksballaden, Anglia* 1933), he is particularly useful in explaining the processes under conditions of genuinely popular, oral transmission by which the characteristic manner and form of the ballad were shaped—processes which result in a *stilizzazione* which could survive the conditions which produced it.

The foundation of text and translation is Child's great collection and glossary. Notes at the end give the provenance of the ballads, discuss difficulties and often seek to extend or modify the information given by Child and other authorities. The translator's aim has been to give a straight and faithful rendering into Italian.

Little work came forward during 1947 on the earlier phases of ME. prose. S. R. T. O. d'Ardenne and J. R. R. Tolkien return to a much disputed reading *ipplen* in 'Sawles Warde' (*Eng. Stud.*, Dec.). Readers unfamiliar with the textual peculiarities of this homily may find this article a little elliptical. In a modern edition like R. M. Wilson's *Sawles Warde* the 'word' is printed '*ipplen*'

(see l. 24 and note). The disputed 'word' is an insertion, unevenly inked, made to fill a gap in the B MS. (elsewhere careless). The writers of this article transcribe the letters as *rw?len* which they concede may be a form of the verb 'rule'. Furuskog, in his collation of the works known as the Katherine-group (see *Y.W.*, xxvii, 95) suggested *iwelen*. These latest students of the text concur in reading the second letter as 'wynn' not 'thorn'; the third is indecipherable. One thing is clear; the missing word was an infinitive. D'Ardenne and Tolkien lay the ghost of this word. The insertion has no authority. The passage (in any case a poor piece of writing) should be read as in the Royal and Cotton MSS. with *fele(n)*.

Malcolm Letts has continued his browsings in the Mandeville field (see *Y.W.*, xxvii, 95). In *N. & Q.* throughout 1947 he published at intervals a series of brief articles on mixed Mandeville problems, between which, as before, no close concatenation is discernible. The first (*N. & Q.*, 8 Feb.) analyses the topographical elements and their sources and illustrates more fully the use of the sources in the Far Eastern sections (Trebizond to India; Pekin). The next (5 April) deals with the MSS. and printed editions of the *Travels*. The third (31st May) reviews the evidence for the connexion of Jean d'Outremeuse with the *Travels* at some stage in their MS. evolution. Outremeuse is designated author by Hamelius on the title page of his E.E.T.S. edition. Letts regards him rather as a kind of heir to the papers of Jean de Bourgogne (his favourite in the Mandeville stakes) and as responsible for inserting the episodes of Ogier the Dane in some MSS. and in differing quantities. The tangle of aliases and variations has not yet been resolved. Has any very cogent reason as yet been put forward for the self-effacement of the fathers and foster-fathers of this work?

These Ogier episodes receive some development in the next article (12 July) of which the subject is van Diemeringen's translation of the *Travels*. This was the translation (of which the British Museum possesses a printed copy of 1484) which achieved some notoriety in the nineteenth century for its translation of 'Grand Can' as 'der grosse Hund'. The Ogier references in van Diemeringen's work show that he used a version of the *Travels* so far unidentified. It is a point of some general interest that a note at the

end of the work attests the popularity of the *Travels*¹ in merchant centres and ports.

The last (so far) of these articles (15 Nov.) touches on two slightly interconnected topics—the *Earliest Manuscript* and the *Libri-Barrois Scandal*. The MS. in question is the one of paramount importance for discussion of the authorship, since in it the *Travels* are immediately followed by a treatise on the plague indubitably by Jean de Bourgogne; it has played an equally important part in controversies as to the original language, for it contradicts other MS. evidence that the *Travels* were first written in Latin. The author here states that he has used *rommant* (in spite of the superior conciseness of Latin) because more people understand it. This, of course, is not the only case where one Mandeville MS. contradicts another.

The connexion between the above and the Libri-Barrois scandal lies in the fact that the Mandeville MS. was an item in the great haul of books and MSS. stolen from Paris by two thieves in the nineteenth century. The Mandeville MS. was eventually bought by Lord Ashburnham for 250,000 francs.

The fourth article from *London Mediaeval Studies* to be noted in this chapter is A. C. Cawley's *The Relationships of the Trevisa MSS. and Caxton's 'Polycronycon'*. Obviously in seeking to group the seven MSS. on the basis of their variant readings the question of antecedent variations in the Latin MSS. had to be considered. Cawley finds that there are no variations in the Latin texts to which the variations in the English MSS. could correspond. Mis-translations of a common Latin may therefore provide criteria for determining relationships between the English MSS. From this point of view they fall into two groups, of which one, containing three MSS., keeps closer to the Latin. There are also unique readings and linguistic modernizations to be considered. From all this evidence subdivisions in the two groups can be established. As to Caxton's text, Cawley finds that the modernizations which it does not share with MS. Harley 1900 are negligible, yet there is no proof that Caxton actually used this MS. There is no evidence that he did any collation or used a Latin text in preparing his copy. Of all the Trevisa MSS. Cotton Tiberius D vii, by virtue of its unique archaic readings, seems to represent the oldest tradition.

A good deal of linguistic importance is generally attached to

Caxton's modernizing of Trevisa's fourteenth-century English. It will be noted from the above that the modernizing was well started in the MSS. tradition.

The publication of Eugène Vinaver's *Works of Sir Thomas Malory*⁵ is a capital event in scholarship. The significance of the title 'Works' is not to be missed; the understanding of what we must no longer (though we probably shall) call the *Morte Darthur* has been put on a new footing.

The discovery of the Winchester College MS. made it clear that what Malory left was a collection of separate romances in the Arthurian field and that the notion of one complex 'Work' is due to Caxton's title and presentation. All that criticism of Malory's achievement which starts from structure in the large, with its problems of unity, continuity and design, is ruled out of court. Scholarship has already done much in disentangling elements and pointing out analogues or sources, and, as Vinaver points out, there will be more to do, but the process will be facilitated by the freedom to take the stories in detachment and by clearer insight into the order of composition, which is not, in some cases, the order of MS. or printed book.

It is true that the Winchester College MS. and Caxton's book give the stories in the same order, but even if this were held an authoritative order, there is evidence that it would be a final order of arrangement, not the order of growth. The *explicit*s in the MS. hint at a piecemeal attitude towards composition. They are not the words of a man engaged in large-scale cyclic composition. Thus, at the end of *The Tale of King Arthur* we find: 'And this booke endyth. . . . Who that will make ony more lette him seke other bookis of Kyng Arthure or of sir Launcelot or sir Tristrans. . . .' Doubtless Malory's taste for authorship grew by what it fed on; when we reach the two final stories the interweaving shows that they have been seen as a whole, but the thought persists that had Malory spent less time in prison, he might never have worked himself so deeply into the Arthurian field and might never have reached the *morte*.

The dependence of Malory's compilation on 'certayn bookes

⁵ *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, ed. by Eugène Vinaver. C.U.P. Three Vols.: Vol. I, pp. cxv+451; Vol. II, pp. 459-1,037; Vol. III, pp. 1,046-1,742. 6 gns.

of Frenche' is one of the widely known facts about the book. It is of great interest, therefore, that the full form of the *Tale of King Arthur and the Emperor Lucius*, now accessible, provides evidence that this was Malory's first venture; it preceded in time the *Tale of King Arthur* which it follows in the final order. The source is the alliterative *Mort Arthur*, much of the alliterative patterning and epic phraseology are still traceable in Malory's prose. Malory's entry into the Arthurian field was thus made *via* the strongly native and epic medium of the *Mort Arthur*. It was not this archaic epic handling that Caxton's patrons desired; hence the drastic curtailment in the printed book.

This is merely a sample of some of the finds or re-assessments which the new opportunities for comparison have opened up. There is much besides of broad literary interest, particularly in whatever Vinaver has to say about the medieval craft of narrative. Bibliographers will fasten on Chapter V of the Introduction, 'The Method of Editing'. The text itself occupies the second half of Vol. I, the whole of Vol. II and the first third of Vol. III. It is followed by a Commentary—a most strenuous piece of scholarship in itself, the results of 'a word for word comparison of Malory's works with their available sources'. For good measure, the Commentary on each Tale is preceded by an Essay developing the significance of Malory's treatment of his sources. The editorial apparatus is completed by a Bibliography, several facsimiles, an index and, finally, a Glossary compiled by G. L. Brook.

A brief but fervent word of praise should be given to the Clarendon Press; they have most ably seconded the editor's task of elucidation. Three volumes containing so much material in addition to a thousand pages of text might easily have been unwieldy, crowded and indigestible. The lay-out is, on the contrary, restful and spacious. Earlier standard editions of Malory's Tales have offered them in almost repellent guise. Vinaver has paragraphed and set out the dialogue so as to facilitate appreciation of its mannered, yet open, easy charm. By collaboration of editor and publisher a classic now appears in a form both learned and humane.

Fifteenth-century prose can be concluded with writings large and small by H. S. Bennett. Two short articles will illustrate much that is characteristic of Bennett's approach in the larger work. In

The Production and Dissemination of Vernacular MSS. in the Fifteenth Century (The Library, March) Bennett notes that little attention has been paid so far to 'publication' in the Middle Ages. We do, indeed, seldom pause to wonder what incentive a man had then to write a book and how he set about reaching any sort of public. This article reminds us of the facts of patronage not only in passively receiving dedications but in suggesting or commissioning literary enterprises. It also stresses the difference between the lay and the clerical worlds: 'Clerics were safe'. The literary cleric had an organization behind him, with an interest in the spread of religious and didactic work. It was nobody's business, on the other hand, to preserve the romances and consequently the number of surviving MSS. is small.

The professional scrivener was undoubtedly the main tool of dissemination. He worked in his own shop or more rarely (Bennett believes) as one of a team in a workshop; he might be permanently retained by a family of substance. The Paston 'Grete Booke' shows how a family volume came into being. The Paston correspondence suggests a local traffic in books: relatives and friends procured and copied. Here the interesting speculation is thrown out that the fourteenth-century alliterative outburst may have had some such local stimulus.

The commercial scribe had an author at his mercy; as for the author, once his presentation copy was handsomely completed he felt himself in no way constrained by that copy. A work might at once begin to change under his hand. Chaucer worked over Books I to IV of *Troilus* and Gower made five versions of the *Confessio Amantis*.

Though Bennett considers that the employed team of scribes was a less common means of book multiplication than the independent scrivener, that does not mean that he rejects Mrs. Loomis's theory of the lay-*atelier* or commercial book factory, of which the Auchinleck MS. can be taken as a product. In a short article, *Medieval English MSS. and Contemporary Taste* (Edin. Bibl. Soc. Trans., Vol. II, Part iv, 1946), he points to the need for further investigation of the provenance of composite volumes containing different texts or different kinds of material. The mixed contents may have come together by accident, convenience or design. If by design the volume would be planned or commissioned as a kind of 'omnibus'. The Auchinleck MS. would be a commer-

cial venture in good mixed reading. On the other hand a 'literate gentleman' in the Thornton family collected and transcribed his own family Miscellany. Harleian 2253 is a 'portable library'. Bennett notes that MS. Brit. Mus. Lansdowne 285 seems very close to the Paston 'Grete Booke' and suggests that the notion of a 'standard' miscellany may have already dawned. Some of the ideas thrown out in these articles are admittedly speculative; it is their object to stimulate further explorations.

These articles offer samples of the knowledge of the late medieval background which has been brought to bear on the second major work to be noticed in this chapter—Bennett's *Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century*⁶ which, together with Sir E. K. Chambers's *Last Medieval Phase* (see *Y.W.*, xxvi, 76), completes the *Oxford History's* survey of late-ME. literature. The first three chapters on Chaucer will be noticed in Chapter IV next year. The remaining four are considered here together and not divided between verse and prose, for the prose, the general conditions and the book world are the preponderating interest (three chapters out of four). In Chapter VI, 'Fifteenth-Century Verse', Bennett turns to different country from that through which we have been following him, but in the same spirit of one seeking the realities of the shaping conditions of the time. There are many refreshing touches in this chapter. Bennett considers that too much fuss has been made of the courtly poetry. Its derivative character is, of course, a commonplace, but Bennett asks more roundly than is usual, 'What was wrong with the courtly poets?' Lydgate was one of the things that were wrong with them.

The fifteenth century has now for some time been recovering from the over-simplification which once saw in it an uninteresting interregnum between the death of Chaucer and the first 'stirrings' of the Renaissance. Bennett, unlike some others, does not overstate its case. In view of distractions at home and abroad it would be much to keep things ticking over. It maintained against an adverse environment 'the body and continuity of our literature' (Preface). Perhaps its most significant achievements were the extension of literacy and the establishment of the vernacular in one domain after another where French or Latin had previously

⁶ *Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century*, by H. S. Bennett. *Oxford Hist. of Eng. Lit.* Vol. II, Part 1. O.U.P. pp. vi+326. 15s.

held sway. Bennett holds (Chapter VII) that fifteenth-century prose has not been well treated by historians; its main movement has been missed. Learned or mannered writers like Pecoock, Fortescue and Malory have been given much space, but they were not the shaping influences. The battles of prose were being fought out apart from them. He is concerned therefore to give space to a number of modest writers, many 'unprofessional', 'who were engaged by trial and error in forging something workmanlike and adaptable out of their fourteenth-century inheritance. Other lines than those of sermon and devotion maintain the 'continuity' of English prose. Plain men aiming at record and communication developed a more or less natural medium, relatively free from the overshadowing influence of Latin rhetoric. Of Caxton, despite his homeliness and practical preoccupations, Bennett takes a tepid view.

The chapters have to be compendious; many names, much information, have to be concisely handled, but the texture is kept as open as may be. The manner is unassertive, but where a clear judgment is called for it is generally found. According to the plan of the Oxford series, the chapters of literary history (occupying about two-thirds of the volume) are followed by the fruits of relentless toil in the form of chronological tables, classified and directive Bibliography and Index.

In the field of medieval drama two articles and two books fall to be considered. Claude Chidamian in *Mak and the Tossing in the Blanket* (*Spec.*, April) brings additional point to this famous comic episode from the 'Hippocratic succussion' of women in childbirth. Examples are quoted showing the persistence in Europe and England of the, to us, barbarous custom of shaking the unhappy women in sheets of canvas and so on; we know from the *Wife of Bath* that Trotula's *De Passionibus Mulierum* had some currency in this country (hence Dame Trot). Shepherds, from the experience of their calling, were reckoned as suitable helpers on obstetric occasions. The shaking of Mak while his wife lies in false child-bed is not, therefore, mere horseplay. The punishment is made to fit, if not the original crime, the deceit by which the wrongdoers sought to cover up. The episode, if this argument be accepted, is stronger realism than we thought.

In 1486 the city of York staged an elaborate pageant to wel-

come Henry VII after the victory of Bosworth. There are two accounts of this pageant, one the official minute of the order of reception, the other possibly an eyewitness's account. Both are preserved in contemporary MSS. Both are reprinted with an introduction and facsimiles by A. H. Smith in *London, Mediaeval Studies*.

Sister Mary P. Coogan, in the conviction that the play of *Mankind* has been underestimated in criticism, seeks to do it fuller justice in a published dissertation, *An Interpretation of the Moral Play, 'Mankind'*.⁷ Following up some suggestions by earlier critics she shows grounds for believing that Mercy was a priest, probably a Dominican friar, and that the play was a Shrovetide piece based on the pre-Lent sacraments of confession and penance. She assigns its composition to Shrovetide, 1471, its locality to the King's Lynn and Cambridge area and the date of the MS. to c. 1474 (see also W. K. Smart, *Some Notes on 'Mankind'*, *Mod. Phil.*, XIV).

In the somewhat over-careful manner natural enough in a dissertation, the author develops the Lenten theme, discusses the Allegory or plot, and under what she calls 'Structure' debates whether or not *Mankind* is a true Morality. This resolves itself into a discussion of the jostling of the spiritual by the ribald in much medieval work. There are several further points of interest; like Gardiner (see *Y.W.*, xxvii, 99) the writer attacks the evolutionary view of drama; the play is more than a straight conflict of Vices and Virtues—the debate of soul and body is also a prominent and deepening theme; Mercy's Latinized and elaborate speech is not (*pace* Pollard) intended to make him fair game for the wicked, for it is *bona fide* aureation and represents the 'high' style of the period. Finally, we are to trace a homiletic structure beneath the dramatic; we may note that for the elucidation of *Mankind* the writer follows what has come to be almost a fashion for drawing on the homily *Jacob's Well*.

Henry de Vocht has published a comparative study of *Everyman* and its Flemish counterpart, *Elckerlyc*.⁸ He makes no claim to be

⁷ *An Interpretation of the Moral Play, 'Mankind'*, by Sister Mary Philippa Coogan. Catholic Univ. of America Press, Washington, D.C. pp. 129.

⁸ *'Everyman': A Comparative Study of Texts and Sources*, by Henry de Vocht. Louvain, Materials for the Study of Old English Drama, No. 20. pp. 228.

saying the last word in the forty-year long controversy over the problem of priority, but he leaves his reader in no doubt as to his own view—that the theory of Flemish priority is untenable. Points which, coming from De Vocht, will carry weight with English students will be the application of Catholic doctrine to the vindication of *Everyman's* doctrinal integrity, and the lack of backing or tradition for *Elckerlyc* in Middle Flemish literature; it stands 'almost a solitary apparition'.

For a negation of de Vocht's claim for *Everyman's* priority see the review by R. W. Zandvoort (*R.E.S.*, Jan. 1949).

There is not much to notice in this chapter on linguistic topics. H. T. Price in his *Foreign Influences on Middle English*⁹ has used some of the harvest beginning to be gathered by the *Middle English Dictionary* now in progress at the University of Michigan. It has completed A. This treatise has a limited and specialized field. Its aim is to study the remarkable parallelism between the use of prepositions and adverbs in ME. and OF., ON. and med. Lat. Sometimes a ME. usage will be taken over from one or other of these languages; sometimes existing use will be extended and enriched by contact with foreign idiom. The bulk of the pamphlet consists of a series of prepositions and adverbs (which all, of course, begin with 'a', like 'about', 'above', etc.) with illustration and discussion of the linguistic innovations associated with them.

Admittedly a brief study like this can only touch the fringe of an enormous subject. It turns from the nouns, adjectives and verbs from which the results of language-contact have generally been illustrated to the small change of language. The prepositional phrase is shown as the fruitful, generative thing. During the Middle Ages 'prepositional phrases rained in upon English from all sides' (see also, pp. 33-4, above).

It is pleasant when the year's harvest provides something fresh and out of the way, something relaxing as well as informative, with which to round off this chapter. This year two alertly inquisitive minds have provided two very pleasing envoys. Helen Adolf, capping Tatlock's amusing essay on Medieval Laughter (see *Y.W.*, xxvii, 101) has carried the subject from anecdote into

⁹ *Foreign Influences on Middle English*, by H. T. Price. Univ. of Michigan Press. pp. 45. 75 c.

philosophy in *On Medieval Laughter* (Spec., April)!. Already in Notker III the ground was laid for Bergsonian speculations. The *risibile* is said to be as proper to man as whinnying is to a horse (the analogy suggests that only the noise is in question). We rise to a higher plane in Notker's *De Definitione* where man is defined as *animal rationale, mortale, risus capax*. This is indeed brain-stretching. According to Helen Adolf the schoolmen did not rise to their opportunities here—an omission which the psychologists have since abundantly rectified. This 'definition' was not, of course, new; it goes back ultimately to the Peripatetics though it is not traceable in Aristotle, and it became a medieval and Renaissance commonplace. So when Rabelais affirms that 'le rire est le propre de l'homme' he has 'antiquity massed behind him'.

Merriam Sherwood conducts a lively and genuinely informative investigation of *Magic and Mechanics in Medieval Fiction* (S. in Ph., Oct.). It extends an invitation to enter a 'world of laughter' where machines are playthings and where, in fiction certainly, they contribute to a world of fine fabling. The vernacular fiction of Medieval western Europe shows a widespread interest in ingenious automata of all kinds; some are utilitarian and may guard a bridge, but a large number, like mechanical trees, plants and birds, provide entertainment. One would not deduce from the fiction that the medieval mind was as unmechanical as it has been held to be.

From one incentive or another a rebirth of mechanics took place in the thirteenth century; Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus and Alfonso the Wise are three conspicuous names. Sherwood recalls the architectural innovations that were involved in the great cathedrals. Clocks, organs, artillery, water-mills, indicate four directions in which the developing medieval mind expressed itself mechanically.

The upshot of this is that the fictional taste for engaging robots, for trees of silver and fruits of gold, for revolving palaces and incredible fountains, is not a mere indulgence in make-believe, in more-than-Oriental splendid ingenuity. In and after the thirteenth century the encyclopedias spread scientific knowledge and fed a taste for information in general. A liking was fostered for fiction that should be informed as well as imaginative in mechanical and other matters. Thus from this side, too, the free expatiation of romance finds itself curtailed.

VI

THE RENAISSANCE

By FREDERICK S. BOAS

THE 1947 publications coming within the range of this chapter of *Y.W.* are somewhat fewer than recently. They consist almost entirely of articles in periodicals and, with few exceptions, they deal not with the general aspects of the period but with individual writers or works. They are noted successively under prose, poetry, and drama.

In *English Criticism: The Renaissance*¹ the late J. W. H. Atkins continued the valuable work contained in his two previous volumes, *Literary Criticism in Antiquity* and *English Literary Criticism: The Medieval Phase*. Renaissance is an elastic term and Atkins's book covers the long stretch from the break with medievalism in fifteenth-century Italy to the critical pronouncements of Milton in the seventeenth century. Only the earlier, but a very significant, part of this study falls within the range of this chapter.

Among the early Italian humanists Atkins specially singles out Laurentius Valla, who 'brought to bear on literary problems a spirit of rationalism and was thus the founder of critical scholarship and historical criticism', and Politian who 'revealed something of the pageant of classical literature and commended a wider outlook'. The fact that Erasmus and Vives both lived for a time in this country scarcely seems to warrant so detailed an account, informative as it is, of this critical work of these continental scholars. Their English contemporaries, Colet, Linacre and More, who get briefer mention, had to wait for their principal successors, as Atkins points out, till the middle of the sixteenth century.

It was rhetoric that first chiefly engaged critical attention. Its study, advocated by Sir Thomas Elyot in *The Governour*, was denounced in an *Oratio* at Oxford by John Jewel. Of greater importance was Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique* (1553, com-

¹ *English Literary Criticism: The Renaissance*, by J. W. H. Atkins. Methuen. pp. xi+371. 16s.

pleted 1560) in which 'something of the larger conception of rhetoric, the rhetoric of Cicero and Quintilian, was for the first time recaptured and presented to English readers'. An appreciative analysis is given of Wilson's book and this is followed by a discussion of the comments in Ascham's *Scholemaster* bearing on style. In particular he restored to 'Imitation' its original classical sense of 'neither mere borrowing nor mere copying, but a sort of recreation'.

Turning from rhetoric to poetry Atkins draws attention to a little-known Latin treatise *De re poetica Disputatio* (1573) by Richard Willis as 'the earliest of Elizabethan Apologies'. Of special interest is Willis's own illuminating interpretation of Plato's definition of poetry as divine madness. Two years later, in his *Notes of Instruction concerning the making of verse or rhyme in English*, George Gascoigne made sensible suggestions on prosodic technique, on which debate was further carried by Gabriel Harvey and others. Curiously enough the drama had to wait longer than the other chief Elizabethan literary types to evoke systematic critical comment. The beginnings of this are to be found in Grimald's dedicatory epistle to his academic play, *Christus Redivivus*, in which he defends his violation of the Unity of time and his mingling of comic and tragic elements. Ascham in the *Scholemaster* stressed the values of tragedy as compared with the epic and the lyric, and claimed that Greek tragedy was superior to Roman. Thereafter the attacks by Northbrooke and Gosson on the theatre produced Sidney's *Apology*. Atkins's discussion of this and later treatises is briefly noticed in Chapter IX, p. 168. This third volume of his 'Criticism' trilogy deepens the regret at his loss to scholarship.

In *Padua in the English Renaissance* (H.L.Q., Feb.) A. C. Krey emphasizes the close cultural connexion in the sixteenth century between England and Italy, and in particular the influence of the University of Padua, to which there is a tribute in *The Taming of the Shrew*. Krey points out that, as three of the most eminent English physicians, Thomas Linacre at the beginning of the century, John Caius in the middle, and William Harvey at the end, obtained their medical training at Padua, the inference is that many other English scholars studied there. Krey calls Padua 'the city or state university of Venice', and he lays stress on the welcome

offered by Venice, 'after 1530, the only truly Italian state in Italy', to the artists, writers, scholars and craftsmen of all Europe.

Robert H. Wilson, in *Caxton's Chess Book* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.), corrects some of the generally held views on the *Game and Playe of the Chesse*, of which the first edition was printed in Bruges, c. 1475, and the second at Westminster, 1485. Wilson's chief points are as follows:

(1) Caxton is thought by various authorities to have translated his first and third chapters from Jean Faron's literal French version of the original Latin, and the rest from Jean de Vignay's expanded rendering. Wilson shows that Caxton did not originate such a combination but probably used a composite version closely akin to that of the Cockerell MS.

(2) In addition to Caxton's two interpolated passages on the degeneracy of England and one on the advantage of a community of goods, Wilson quotes a number of shorter departures from the French, including two English proverbs.

(3) Instead of the second edition being essentially a reprint of the first, Wilson points out that there are variants throughout the table of contents, and that the list in the second edition approximates to the chapter headings in the first.

Heinz Bluhm discusses *The 'Douche' Sources of Coverdale's Translation of the Twenty-third Psalm* (*J.E.G.P.*, Jan.) with the object of showing from this particular instance that Ginsburg and his followers have generalized too freely in claiming the Zurich Bible (editions, 1525, 1530, 1531) as the primary source of Coverdale's English version (1535). Bluhm quotes the six verses of the psalm in turn, with the renderings in the Zürich editions, Luther's Bible, and several Latin psalters. From his detailed analysis he concludes that Luther's 1531 psalter was Coverdale's chief source. The Zürich Bible came next, and for one striking phrase, in verse four, 'the valley of the shadow of death', Bluhm holds that Coverdale was indebted to the Latin of Pagninus. He warns readers that his conclusions may not apply to the Bible as a whole, or even to the rest of the psalter.

In *The Daughters of Sir Thomas More* (*Fortnightly Review*, April) Frances Paul draws a pleasant picture from familiar sources of the

household at Chelsea, where Margaret, Elizabeth and Cicely were trained to womanhood under their father's watchful eye. One of the most attractive points in the survey is the list of now forgotten games which More recommended as 'pretty plays' for the girls in childhood—cherry-stone, marrow bone, hokle-pit, spurs-pont, cobnut, and qualyng'. When they came to riper years together with their kinswoman, Margaret Gigs, and their sister-in-law, Anne Cresacre, they were given full advantage of the Renaissance movement for the higher education of women together with an austere moral training. With their scholarly attainments they wrote letters to More in Latin. But there was no neglect of music and of the domestic arts, which fitted them for the married state upon which they were to enter, most conspicuously Margaret as the wife of William Roper, her father's biographer.

W. H. Donner, in his *Introduction to 'Utopia'* (see *Y.W.*, xxvii, 104) emphasized the importance of the original Latin version of More's romance.

In a similar spirit James Binder deals with *More's 'Utopia' in English: A Note on Translation* (*M.L.N.*, June). After pointing out the main features of the somewhat austere Utopian régime as depicted in More's Latin prose, Binder states that Robinson in his translation 'throws it off balance'. He substitutes frequently for the plain wording of the original a more highly coloured phrase. He is particularly fond of the word 'gorgeous' of which Binder quotes ten instances, and sums up 'that to use the word *gorgeous* in describing anything Utopian is to violate fundamentally the whole tenor of a great man's mind'.

An attempt to translate More's theories into practice in the New World is described by Silvio Zavala in *The American Utopia of the Sixteenth Century* (*H.L.Q.*, Aug.). The Spanish jurist and bishop, Vasco de Quiroga, journeyed to Mexico to help in framing a government equitable both to the natives and the Spanish conquerors. Quiroga's programme of reform was based on 'the very good republic proposed by Thomas More—an illustrious and ingenious man, more than human'. Quiroga was influenced not only by *Utopia*, but by the picture of a golden age in Lucian's *Dialogues* translated into Latin by More and Erasmus. He thought that the Indians retained some of the natural simplicity of that age,

and could be further elevated. The failure of his hopes does not detract from the interest of his attempted application of humanist ideals.

G. J. Engelhardt discusses *The Relation of Sherry's 'Treatise of Schemes and Tropes' to Wilson's 'Arte of Rhetorique'* (P.M.L.A., March). Richard Sherry, a former headmaster of Magdalen College School published late in 1550 or in the following year *A Treatise of Schemes and Tropes*, which was not re-issued, and of which only six copies appear to have survived. Modern references to it are few and inaccurate, and it has escaped notice that Thomas Wilson in his *Arte of Rhetorique* (1553) is indebted to Sherry's book.

Under nine heads, beginning with *Apocope* and ending with *Periphrasis*, Engelhardt shows that Wilson, especially in his examples of figures of speech, drew directly upon Sherry who had used various Latin treatises. Perhaps the most striking instance is under *Cacozelia*, a stylistic fault. Sherry gives as examples 'a phrase of building, or an audience of shepe, as a certen homely fellow did'. Wilson puts both of these, expanded in anecdotal fashion, into the mouths of two ignorant fellows. Another convincing instance is given, with mention of Saul and David, under *Periphrasis*.

Adlington's English version of *The Golden Asse* stands high among Tudor translations. It has now been re-issued with an Introduction by Denis Saurat² and plentiful illustrations by Brian Robb. Saurat claims that it is unique that Apuleius, a man of mere talent not genius, should have survived and still amuse after nearly two thousand years. And we are fortunate in being able to read his story of the human Ass's adventures in the English of 1566, juicy, rapid and living. 'Apuleius's Latin was excellent; Adlington's English is better.'

The larger portion of Paul H. Kocher's *The Physician as Atheist in Elizabethan England* (H.L.Q., May) falls outside the limits of this chapter (see below, p. 175). But note has to be taken here of one of the earliest and most important of the authorities cited by

² *The Golden Asse of Lucius Apuleius*, from the translation by William Adlington, with an Introduction by Denis Saurat. Westhouse. pp. 121. 10s. 6d.

Kocher, William Bullein's *A Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence* (1564). Bullein was both a medical man, author of several treatises, and a cleric, who had held a rectory in Suffolk. His *Dialogue*, which went through two later editions, gives a vivid picture of an atheistic doctor, Medicus, conversing with a merchant, Antonius, sick of the plague. Medicus declares, 'I am neither Catholike, Papiste, Protestante, nor Anabaptiste', and when asked, 'What dow you honour?' answers, 'I am a Nulla fidian, and there are many of our secte'. When the question is raised whether man has a soul Medicus declares 'I credite not the Bible matters', and discourses on the functions of the soul as described by Aristotle. Finally Death appears to censure such doctrines, and to declare that the end of life is appointed by God.

Jeannette Fellheimer compares *Hellowes' and Fenton's Translations of Guevara's 'Epistolas Familiares'* (*S. in Ph.*, April). The two volumes of these *Epistolas* appeared in Valladolid in 1539 and 1541. Edward Hellowes in 1574 published *The Familiar Epistles of Sir Antony of Guevara*, drawn from Guevara's first volume, direct from the Spanish. In 1575 Geoffrey Fenton brought out *Golden Epistles*, translated not from the Spanish, but from Guttery's French version of Guevara's two volumes. The publication was intended to be a companion volume to *The Familiar Epistles*.

Guevara's aim was didactic and the *Epistolas* approximate to moral essays. Hellowes retains the epistolary form. Fenton on the other hand omits place and date, salutation and complimentary close, and proper names of addressees. He also eliminated all personal and Spanish references and all matters relating to Catholicism and to the practices of the Catholic church. Miss Fellheimer gives a number of instances of the changes thus made 'in conformity with Fenton's earnest Protestantism'.

For purposes of comparison Miss Fellheimer takes the two translations of a letter to Alonso Suarez of Murcia. Hellowes has an opening section of 250 words, reduced by Fenton to 'I have received your letter'. The conclusion of the letter, in which Guevara complains of gout, is also omitted by Fenton, whose version altogether is about one-third shorter than that of Hellowes.

On the other hand Fenton introduces figures of speech and short

character sketches not found in his original. But neither he nor Hellowes succeeded in transferring his elaborate style and the rhythm of his sentences into English prose.

William Ringler, in his biographical and critical study of Stephen Gosson, 1942 (see *Y.W.*, xxiii, 99–100), drew attention to his eight days' visit to the English hospital at Rome in April, 1584. It seemed that he might have been in Rome on Government service. A. K. McIlwraith (*T.L.S.*, 20 Sept.) does not refer to Gosson's week in hospital, but he shows that his reason for coming to Rome was not political but theological. He quotes from the Register of the English College at Rome, 'Stephanus Gosson anglus Cantuariensis' was accepted on 15 April 1584, as 'idoneus ad theologiam'. In July he was dispensed 'irregularitatem contractam propter haeresiam'. In September he left because of eye trouble. There is the significant addition 'et in Anglia fidem negavit'.

Ringler and others have pointed out that Gosson's attack on the theatre in *The Schole of Abuse* was not from a Puritan standpoint. But it is a surprise that a few months before his ordination in the English Church he had taken the first steps towards Roman priesthood.

The aim of D. W. Harding in *The Rhythmical Intention in Wyatt's Poetry* (*Scrutiny*, Dec. 1946) is to disprove the view that 'his intention was to write the flowing metrical verse which established itself as the standard for English poetry in the Elizabethan period'. The responsibility for such a view rests largely on Totter who in his *Miscellany* 'corrected' a number of Wyatt's poems in order to put the metre straight. Miss A. K. Foxwell, in her *Study of Wyatt's Poems* (1911), kept closely to Wyatt's text, but sought to make it conform to the line of five stresses by assuming differences in pronunciation and accent. But Wyatt could write smoothly, by modern standards, when he wished. Therefore in his irregular verse, Harding claims, he was grouping his words into 'rhythm units', which result in a 'pausing verse' instead of a flowing verse. He further explains and illustrates this in his article which deserves attention from all students of Wyatt.

W. L. Radford congratulates Sir Thomas Wyatt's descendants on having recently installed a memorial to him, as poet and states-

man, in the Wickham Chapel of Sherborne Abbey, where he is buried.

A leading article in *T.L.S.* (18 Jan.), in connexion with the four hundredth anniversary of the execution of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, was devoted to *Surrey's Triumphs* as soldier, courtier and poet. In the earlier decades of the sixteenth century it was Wyatt and Surrey who put an end to 'that period of insecurity and drift into which our poetry had drifted since Chaucer's infallible ease'. In songs and sonnets they, with others in less degree, prepared the way for the Elizabethan golden era. But where Surrey has a unique claim to a 'triumph' is in his translation of Books II and IV of the *Aeneid* into blank verse. The article lists some of its progeny in epic and drama, and signalizes it as 'never obsolete nor denying originality to such as can make it'.

George P. Shannon discusses (*M.L.Q.*, March) the source of *N. Grimald's List of the Muses* in a poem of twenty-four lines in *Tottel's Miscellany*. Neither a Greek poem in *The Anthology* nor two Latin ones by pseudo-Ausonius and Cato agree with his list. Grimald doubles the number of lines to the Muses found in the above-named classical poems, and also adds two opening and two closing lines. As this is contrary to his practice as a translator Shannon suggests that his source was some unidentified neo-classical poem.

Kenneth Muir makes an interesting contribution to the *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical Society*, Vol. vi, Part iv (reprinted as a pamphlet) in an article on *Unpublished Poems in the Devonshire MS.* After enumerating the poems in the MS. which are either certainly or possibly by Wyatt, Muir prints fifty-four poems (of which a number are in only one stanza) that have not yet been published. A group, signed 'T.H.', are by Lord Thomas Howard who was imprisoned in the Tower for marrying Lady Margaret Douglas, the niece of Henry VIII, and a possible heir to the throne. Lady Margaret was also imprisoned separately and seven poems of Howard and one of hers, written at this time, are, as Muir says, 'interesting as human documents, though their value as poetry is mostly very small'. Nor does he rank highly the verses by others represented in the MS., including Anthony Lee, Wyatt's brother-

in-law, Richard Hatfield, Harry Stuart (Lord Darnley) and Sir E. Kuyvet. Muir adds useful notes on some verbal points and on different handwritings in the MS.

*The Epigram in the English Renaissance*⁸ by the late Hoyt H. Hudson has been seen through the press from his unfinished manuscript by three of his friends. It consists of three chapters and part of a fourth. The subject had engaged Hudson's special study since his Cornell dissertation on some of its aspects in 1923.

In Chapter I Hudson discusses the nature of the epigram, and starts from the definition in *O.E.D.*, 'A short poem ending in a witty or ingenious turn of thought, to which the rest of the composition is intended to lead up'. While accepting this in the main, Hudson after 'turn of thought' would add 'or sententious comment'. Even with this addition it does not cover the earlier of the Greek epigrams in the *Anthology*, representing 'a form close to the simple inscription which is the origin of all epigram writing'.

Chapter II deals with the 'Epigrams of Sir Thomas More', first published, with the third edition of *Utopia* and the epigrams of Erasmus, at Basel in March 1518, re-issued in November, and in a revised edition in 1520. Of the 250 *epigrammata* about 85 were translated from the Greek *Anthology*. The others, of More's own invention, fall into four classes: admonitory, commendatory, satirical, and sepulchral. Among the commendatory are three concerning Erasmus's edition of the Greek New Testament, addressed to the reader, and to the Archbishops, Wolsey and Warham. In the satirical class Hudson gives somewhat disproportionate space to the wordy warfare between More and the French scholar, Brixius, concerning a naval engagement in August 1512 near Brest. Of the sepulchral epigrams his epitaph for himself and his two wives is of special personal interest. Hudson then traces the subsequent fate of More's epigrams in reproduction or translation in England and on the Continent.

Chapter III, on 'Scholarly Epigrammatists after More', begins with his collaborator William Lily, Headmaster of St. Paul's School, and two of Lily's pupils, John Constable and John Leland. Less well known is John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, to whose *Epigrammata Juvenilia* (1573) Hudson gives prominence, and

⁸ *The Epigram in the English Renaissance*, by Hoyt Hopewell Hudson, Princeton Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. x+178. \$2.50. 14s.

whom he calls 'except More, the most important and accomplished English author of Latin epigrams in his century'. Among writers whose epigrams supplement their wider fame in other fields the Scotch Buchanan and the French Beza stand foremost.

The fragmentary Chapter IV, on the use of 'the epigram in schools and colleges', illustrates the two usual methods, the setting of a theme, a proverb or phrase, for restatement or comment; and the paraphrase or variation of an epigram from a classical source. Some of the examples quoted are surprising, and help to throw light on the loss to Renaissance scholarship through Hudson's death.

Interesting sidelights, literary and academic, on the period 1578-81 are contained in Warren B. Austin's article on *William Withie's Notebook: Lampoons on John Lyly and Gabriel Harvey* (*R.E.S.*, Oct.). Withie entered Christ Church, Oxford, in 1564, and after graduating successively B.A., M.A. and B.C.L., continued in residence as a senior student. His *Notebook* (now Sloane MS. 300) contains mostly his chemical and medical notes and translations, but working from the last page backward Withie ('William of Oxford', as he called himself) covered the last nine folios with literary compositions of little poetic merit, but of some importance in their associations.

Two of them are lampoons on Harvey and Lyly, arising out of the Spenser-Harvey correspondence in 1580, in which Harvey had included some of his English hexameters, apparently directed against Lyly's patron, Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford. This incited Lyly to urge Oxford to charge Harvey before the Privy Council, with writing of libellous verses, but nothing much came of this.

In nine lines, with a postscript, Withie, addressing Harvey as 'Omnipotent Orator, famous Rhetorician Archpott', parodies his 'vile arrogant English versifyinge'. The lines are packed with topical allusions which are explained by Austin in helpful notes. The satire on Lyly consists of thirty-two lines in rhyming couplets. The allusions are less explicit than in the Harvey lampoon, but according to Austin's interpretation they make mock of Lyly's unsuccessful attempt to get Harvey condemned by the Privy Council as a libeller of the Earl of Oxford.

Among the other pieces there is one addressed to the Dean of

Christ Church, who had taken away his bursarship, and two relating to his defeat for the proctorship in 1580 and 1581. In a premature epitaph on himself, when he suffered from typhus during the Black Assizes at Oxford in 1577, he compares his attitude towards death with that of Socrates. Specially interesting is Austin's last quotation from the *Notebook*:

Tarleton being hissed at Oxon. potted out these:

'I am not in that golden land where Jason wonn the fleese,

But I am in that hissing land where freshmen play the geese.'

The anecdote of the popular comedian getting for once a hostile reception from his audience has been known in other versions, but it is Withie who discloses that Oxford was the locale.

In a letter to *T.L.S.* (22 March) headed *Gabriel Harvey* Austin identifies three Latin poems by him, signed by his initials, hitherto unattributed. The longest consists of ninety-one lines, *Academiae Cantabrigiesis lachrimae*, heading the group of Cambridge elegies on the death of Sir Philip Sidney in the memorial volume compiled by Alexander Neville. Then after two short elegies by friends of Harvey comes his personal tribute to Sidney of thirty-two lines. The third of Austin's identifications is a commendatory poem of ten lines, signed G.H., prefixed to George Gascoigne's *Posies* (1575).

With further reference to the identification of Harveiana, John Crow pointed out (*T.L.S.*, 2 May) that at the end of Edward Grant's translation of Jean Crispin's *Lexicon* (1581) there are two Latin orations, *De Discenda Graeca Lingua* by G.H. one of which praises Sir John Cheke and other scholars, and the other is addressed to the students of Pembroke Hall.

In the Boston Public Library's periodical, *More Books* (May) it is recorded that the Library has acquired a copy of the rare first edition of Buchanan's *Baptistes*, the octavo printed by T. Vautrollier in 1577. There is only one other similar copy in the U.S.A. libraries.

The late W. A. Mephram gave an account in *The Essex Review* (Oct. 1946 and Jan. 1947) of *Municipal Drama at Maldon in the*

Sixteenth Century. The plays at Maldon, though some at any rate were on religious subjects, were produced not by ecclesiastics but by the municipal authorities. Our knowledge of them therefore comes chiefly from the Chamberlains' accounts, though these as a rule, give only lump sums, no details. But to the accounts for 1539-40 there is attached a 'book' giving details of the expenses on a play acted on 11 July 1540. The stage was erected at the Friary, and the producer, Felstede from London, was boarded with his man and their horses for seven days. A play was produced apparently every three or four years. The last 'native' play, as Mepham terms it, was acted in 1562, with a producer, Burles, from Chelmsford. Some of the garments were made out of the church vestments, but on 21 December it was ordered that they should be sold, and the main proceeds be put in the town treasury.

Mepham had a further account (*ibid.*, July and Oct.) of *The Chelmsford Plays of the Sixteenth Century*. These were produced under clerical supervision, and their record is in the churchwarden's accounts of St. Mary's, now the cathedral. The performances were connected with the midsummer 'Show'. The fullest details are given in 1562-3 when four plays or series of plays were performed. Mepham discusses the items of expense for each of these. He puts forward the view that the Chelmsford plays had their origin in the so-called *Ludus Coventriae*. His arguments on this question will probably lead to further discussion.

In *John Foxe and the Drama 'New Custom'* (*H.L.Q.*, Aug.) Leslie M. Oliver points out that speeches by Cruelty and Avarice in Act II, iii of this Morality reflect the influence of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. Cruelty recites the punishments he would inflict on heretics, including,

‘Some would I hang privilie,
Saying that them selves so dyed desperately.’

This refers to the case of Richard Hun, illustrated by a striking woodcut in Foxe's book. Avarice relates how a younger brother, to get hold of his elder brother's rich inheritance, gave information of his heresies and brought him to the stake. This alludes to the martyrdom of Richard Woodman, of which Foxe's full account did not appear till the 1570 edition of *Acts and Monuments*. Oliver therefore concludes that the author or reviser of *New*

Custom must have used this edition, and that 'the play in its present form cannot be earlier than 1570.

J. C. Maxwell in *Lucan's First Translation* (29 Nov.) claims this title for Thomas Hughes. He points out that the 'impressive speech', as Cunliffe called it, in *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, III, iii, 1-65, and almost all the rest of the scene are closely modelled on Lucan, only 16 out of 130 lines being Hughes's original work. He also gives another certain instance of borrowing in III, i, 28-9, and a doubtful one in II, ii, 50-1.

Maxwell, who underrates *The Misfortunes of Arthur* in calling it a 'dreary production', does not find any proof of connexion between Hughes's version and Marlowe's translation of Lucan's Book I. But Hughes has the credit of leading the way.

VII

SHAKESPEARE

By ALLARDYCE NICOLL

PARADOXICALLY, this account of the Shakespeare studies published in the year 1947 must perforce start with reference to an important work originally issued in 1944. Since the publishers forbade the earlier noticing of Hyder E. Rollins's *Sonnets*¹ in the 'Variorum' edition, there remains no choice but to include these volumes in the present chapter, associating them with books three or four years younger than themselves.

Rollins's *Sonnets* is a majestic achievement, which well displays the editor's masterly skill in coping succinctly and easily with masses of detailed facts and in making a path through a tangled jungle of conjecture. That he can punctuate his record of the confused and confusing literature on the subject with little touches of sly humour indicates with what confident assurance he remains the triumphant master of material that certainly would have baffled and overwhelmed a lesser man. 'Here the discussion of the merits and demerits of Q may break off', he remarks, 'until the next editions are published—to-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow. After all, if each question concerning Shakespeare were settled to everybody's satisfaction, there would presumably be an end to books—an end to sonnet criticism and scholarship.' (Peculiarly, however, the present year seems to have added only one contribution to sonnet criticism, *Pleading and Practice in Shakespeare's Sonnet XLVI* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.) by P. S. Clarkson and C. T. Warren.)

To attempt to discover the merits and demerits (if any of the latter) of Rollins's edition within the limited space here available would be futile. Sufficient is it to say that it forms one of the most notable contributions made to the 'Furness Variorum', and to give an indication of its contents. The first volume is occupied entirely with the presentation of the quarto text, of variant readings and of commentary on the lines. In volume two appears a survey of all the

¹ *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare. The Sonnets*, ed. by Hyder E. Rollins. Lippincott, 1944. Vol. I, pp. xvii+404; Vol. II, pp. 531. £7.

relevant literature, from comment on the nature of the copy, through analysis of the interminable 'W.H.' problem and the related problems of Friends, Rivals and Dark Ladies, on to general criticism. Concerning most of these problems Rollins himself maintains a healthy indifference. He is inclined to share the view of Lee and Wolff that much if not all of the sonnet sequence is conventional in character; in any case, he believes, even were the identity of a particular Friend to be established by means of irrefutable documentary evidence, we should be no nearer Shakespeare's own mind. A similar judgment is passed on the vexed question of the Dark Lady (or Dark Woman, as Rollins democratically prefers her to be named). And as for the Rival Poet, is it not, he thinks, possible (perhaps even probable) that his verses never reached print at all and that the search for his work among sixteenth-century printed books is merely the following of a will-o'-the-wisp over quaggy ground apt to bring the searcher to disaster?

To another and vastly different edition—the New Cambridge Shakespeare—J. Dover Wilson has made two welcome contributions during the year 1947—*Henry V*² and *Macbeth*.³ For the former the editor acknowledges indebtedness to G. I. Duthie, 'who has prepared for me elaborate notes on the play, often approaching variorum fulness, together with a text based upon a fresh examination of the folio original'—an original that Dover Wilson is assured was based directly on the author's manuscript.

In his introduction Wilson seeks to emphasize the essentially serious, animated and even exalted nature of a play concerning the value of which diverse critics have expressed their doubts. We may believe that he is in the right, seeing here the dramatist's contribution to a great surge of patriotic sentiment—a sentiment to which the editor likens the mood in Britain during the early forties of the present century, going so far, indeed, as to dedicate the volume to Viscount Wavell. At the same time, even if we share his opinion, we may perhaps think that at moments his own enthusiasm persuades him to press his case too far by means of

² *King Henry V*, ed. by John Dover Wilson. C.U.P. pp. lvii + 201. 8s. 6d.

³ *Macbeth*, ed. by John Dover Wilson. C.U.P. pp. lxxxiii + 186. 8s. 6d.

questionable argument. Does it, for example, help the conjectured resemblance between Fluellen and Sir Roger Williams to remark that the latter was a man 'who, as the familiar friend of Essex, would certainly have attended him to Ireland had he not died in 1595'? And is it valid argument for the seriousness of Shakespeare's purpose in *Henry V* to declare that, had Shakespeare 'at such a time set Arms and such a Man upon the stage in any off-hand or hasty fashion, he would have flouted a public not easily satisfied with second-rate productions'? Elizabethan dramatic history hardly justifies such a judgment.

The edition of *Macbeth* is more exciting. This includes two very tempting, if unprovable, conjectures and a brilliant critical assessment of the tragedy as a whole. The conjectures are (1) that the Folio text fundamentally presents Shakespeare's own shortened version of his (now lost) longer drama, and (2) that originally *Macbeth* was written in 1601 or 1602, in Scotland, specifically for King James—as yet merely the Sixth in the Northern Kingdom and still not First in the South. Here, parenthetically may be mentioned the important article by Dover Wilson and R. W. Hunt confirming the authenticity of Simon Forman's *Booke of Plaies*: this study is more fully dealt with elsewhere (see Chap. VIII, 140). In the assessment of the tragedy Wilson produces something close to a triumph. After all that has been penned on this drama he succeeds in dealing freshly and incisively with its familiar material. No more eloquent words have been formed to express its spirit; there is no profounder analysis than this of Shakespeare's 'gigantic reflexion of our sinful selves thrown upon the immeasurable screen of the universe'.

The year 1947 has also seen two new additions to G. B. Harrison's 'Penguin' text.⁴ These useful booklets follow, in the main, the editorial principles established in earlier contributions to the 'Penguin' series. In both the Folio text is closely followed, and so far as possible the original punctuation is retained. (On this question of punctuation note may here be made of J. Dover Wilson's lengthy review-reply (*R.E.S.*, Jan.) to Peter Alexander's *Shakespeare's Punctuation* (see *Y.W.*, xxvi, 93). In emphatic terms Wilson defends his adoption of the Q2 pointing of Hamlet's 'What

⁴ *The Tragedy of Troilus and Cressida . . . The Winter's Tale*, in *The Penguin Shakespeare*, ed. by G. B. Harrison. pp. 158 and 142. 1s. 6d.

a piece of work is a man'. A trenchant reply by Alexander appears in the July issue of the same journal.)

From the editions listed above it may be appropriate to pass to various shorter textual studies and notes contributed during the year. Dover Wilson's supposition that Falstaff was 'in the know' from the start of the Gadshill episode is rejected in A. J. A. Baldock's *The Men in Buckram* (*R.E.S.*, Jan.). Baldock disagrees even with Kittredge's view that Falstaff later 'catches on', arguing that this and other problems in *Henry IV* are to be explained by 'the variability of texture in Shakespearean Drama'. 'A Shakespearean play', he declares, 'does not necessarily stay precisely the same *kind* of play throughout every inch of its length'—so that we move from one to another level of reality. The inference is that certain things which may seem to be textual puzzles are often not so.

On *The Taming of the Shrew* Raymond A. Houk has two studies—*Shakespeare's 'Shrew' and Greene's 'Orlando'* (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.) and *'Doctor Faustus' and 'A Shrew'* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.). The former further develops the author's previously enunciated thesis (Vol. xxiii, 110) that Shakespeare's rough drafts formed the nucleus for *A Shrew*, and that the writer of *The Shrew* (presumably Shakespeare) was indebted to Greene, both of these plays being constructed about the same time, 1592–3. In the latter article are presented parallels between *A Shrew* and *Dr. Faustus* (see also p.147).

Numerous comments on individual lines or on particular words in the plays have been published during the year. J. C. Maxwell writes on 2 *Henry IV*, II, iv, 91 ff. (*M.L.R.*, Oct.), Homer Nearing on *A Three Way Pun in 'Richard II'* (*M.L.N.*, Jan.), Wallace A. Bacon on *The Tempest*, IV, i (*N. & Q.*, 9 Aug.), R. C. Rushbrook on *The Winter's Tale*, V, i, 58–60 (*N. & Q.*, 29 Nov.), and J. T. Jones on *What's that 'Ducdame'? As You Like It*, II, v, 60 (*M.L.N.*, Dec.). The last-mentioned note suggests that the mysterious 'ducdame' is the Welsh 'dewch 'da mi', meaning 'come with me'. Leslie Hotson (*T.L.S.*, 12 July) believes 'beds' in the final song of *Twelfth Night* should be 'bets'—a belief rejected by Dover Wilson (id. 26 July). *T.L.S.* also contains two further suggestions made by Hotson: he thinks (id. 11 Oct.) that 'Castiliano vulgo', in

Twelfth Night is 'Castiliano volgo', meaning 'I am considering the ducat', and (id. 22 Nov.) that 'Prenzie' in *Measure for Measure* signifies 'Prencipe' or 'Prince'. This final guess is attacked by Marie C. Stopes (id. 6 Dec.), who interprets the word as referring to the duelling term 'prenez garde' and as alluding to the 'duel' between Angelo and Isabella.

On the equally perplexing 'mobled Queen' in *Hamlet* Ethel Seaton (id. 30 Aug.) puts forward the supposition that Shakespeare had 'mobles' (= possessions) in mind: 'mobled Queen' would thus mean a queen richly endowed. Lindsay Scott (id. 6 Sept.) opines that the word was not intended to have any meaning at all, and a similar comment is made by Winifred Scott (id. 6 Sept.): according to Robert W. Cruttwell (id. Sept. 13) the sense is 'set in movement, violently agitated'. Raymond Chapman (id. 25 Oct.) defends the emendation of 'stings of Fortune' in *Hamlet* and notes that the phrase 'sea of troubles' occurs in Dekker's *The Wonder of a Kingdom*: Ethel Seaton (id. 1 Nov.) comments that the expression 'sea of . . .' had become a fossilized metaphor simply meaning 'excess'. Numerous other interpretative remarks on lines in *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Two Gentlemen*, *Merry Wives*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Cymbeline*, *Pericles* and *Henry IV* appear in three articles, entitled *Some Matters Shakespearean*, by John Munro (id. 13 and 27 Sept. and 11 Oct.).

In an interesting short essay, *The Roots of Shakespeare* (*Country Life*, 14 Feb.), H. J. Massingham stresses Shakespeare's debt to experiences in his native Warwickshire; in particular he explains the *Tempest*'s 'pioned and twilled brims' by reference to the still-current local use of 'pionies' for wild orchises and of 'twilled' for the plaiting of osiers. In *Five Shakespeare Notes* (*R.E.S.*, Oct.) Helge Kökeritz writes on an unusual rime in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, a double pun in *Timon* (medlar-meddler, eat-hate), a Biblical echo in *Cymbeline*, a puzzle in *Merry Wives*, and, finally, the famous hawk-handsaw problem.

In an important *Examination of the Method of Proof Correction in 'Lear'* (*Library*, June) Fredson Bowers analyses W. W. Greg's theory of the proof-correcting process in the Pide Bull *Lear* and offers a number of suggested modifications to the latter's hypothesis. An equally interesting article by J. M. Nosworthy, 'Mac-

beth' at the Globe (Library, Sept.-Dec.), seeks to prove that the text of *Macbeth*, although cut in places, presents fundamentally all the action of the original drama: his use of the Forman diary and of other evidence is ingenious. Giles E. Dawson (*T.L.S.*, 1 Feb.) notes one certain and one probable addition to R. M. Smith's recording of nine variant Second Folio title-pages.

A subject that has been attracting more attention than usual is that of the sources of the plays, considered both in detail and in general. In this area of investigation are included studies on works obviously used by Shakespeare in the penning of particular dramas as well as consideration of the wider literary influences on which his style has been formed. For those engaged in this aspect of the dramatist's creative life Selma Guttman has produced a most useful 'annotated bibliography' of books and articles devoted to analysis of the foreign sources.⁵ The value of her book lies in the facts that it presents us with a reasonably complete record of all that has been printed on the subject from 1904 to 1940 and that brief indications, prepared with not a little skill, are given of their contents. As a basic tool for further study Miss Guttman's book is likely to prove of considerable service.

Perhaps T. W. Baldwin's massive study, *Shakspere's Five-Act Structure*,⁶ does not wholly belong in this section, yet the fact that he is engaged in the task of etching in the background against which the early plays were set warrants mention of it here. The story carries us back to act-structure in Terence and thence on through the discussions regarding act-structure among the grammarians and the scholars of Renaissance times. Thereafter comes a thorough study of the manner in which plays were built during the middle of the sixteenth century in England, leading up to an analysis of *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Comedy of Errors*, *Two Gentlemen* and *Romeo and Juliet*. In the course of his investigations Baldwin has incidentally some important remarks to make about the

⁵ *The Foreign Sources of Shakespeare's Works: An Annotated Bibliography of the Commentary written on this subject between 1904 and 1940, together with Lists of certain Translations available to Shakespeare*, by Selma Guttman. New York: King's Crown Press; London: O.U.P. pp. xxi + 168. \$2.75. 15s.

⁶ *Shakspere's Five-Act Structure: Shakspere's Early Plays on the Background of Renaissance Theories of Five-Act Structure from 1470*, by T. W. Baldwin. Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press. pp. xiii + 848.

chronology of these plays. He is convinced that *Love's Labour's Lost* was written for Strange's men at the Cross Keys between August 1588 and August 1589: the others, he thinks, were composed for the same company at the Theatre or Curtain between 1589 and 1591. Packed with information on a variety of matters relating directly and indirectly to his specific theme, Baldwin's volume is one to which students of Shakespeare are likely often to return, while several of his conclusions challenge close examination. In connexion with this work may be noted a somewhat peculiar article-review, *This Figure*, in *T.L.S.* (26 April), as well as the chattily written book by C. Martin Mitchell on *The Shakespeare Circle*,⁷ a study of Shakespeare in the midst of his family and friends.

In *Shakespeare and Sir Philip Sidney*,⁸ Alwin Thaler turns to inquire whether the dramatist was influenced by *The Defense of Poesy*. His answer to the question is in the positive even although he has not been able to find much that could be interpreted as direct borrowing. That Shakespeare had read Sidney's essay and that this reading coloured his own writing, however, Thaler is convinced:

'All the antecedent probabilities indicate that, if Shakespeare read anything, he could not have been ignorant of the *Defense*. His fellow poets and dramatists knew the treatise and used it. He himself knew and used the *Arcadia*. Mr. Maxwell Anderson, to take a modern instance, knows his *Hamlet*. To suppose that Shakespeare, knowing the *Arcadia*, was ignorant of the *Defense*, is like supposing that the author of *Winterset* had never heard of *Romeo and Juliet*.'

Further remarks bearing on this theme appear in Michel Poirier's *Sidney's Influence upon 'A Midsummer Night's Dream'* (*S. in Ph.* July). After giving arguments designed to prove Shakespeare's use of the *Arcadia* in plays as diverse as *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Macbeth* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, he proceeds to put forward the thesis that the lines describing the lover, the lunatic and the poet were directly based on Sidney's 'defence'. If this is so and if these lines were indeed an addition to the play in which

⁷ *The Shakespeare Circle: A Life of Dr. John Hall, Shakespeare's son-in-law*, etc., by C. Martin Mitchell. Birmingham: Cornish Brothers. pp. 116.

⁸ *Shakespeare and Sir Philip Sidney: The Influence of The Defense of Poesy*, by Alwin Thaler. Harvard Univ. Press and O.U.P. 14s.

they occur, then, he suggests, we have a pointer towards the date of the revision, since the *Apologie* was entered in the Stationers' Register on 29 September 1594 and 12 April 1595.

A still more elaborate work of a somewhat similar kind, although much wider in scope, has been prepared by Sister Miriam Joseph.⁹ In this she asks the larger questions: was Shakespeare acquainted with the contemporary theories of literary composition and rhetoric, and, if so, did he make use of them? Her answer, too, is positive: and, in the arguments she adduces, her research carries her through an examination of training in the arts in Renaissance England to Shakespeare's own use of contemporary theory. Although the arrangement of the material gathered here may be thought to be rather schematic, this is a good book, and one that adds considerably to the evidence hitherto published concerning Shakespeare's consciously acquired mastery of his art. With this work may be associated Moody E. Prior's *The Language of Tragedy*, a volume which, since it includes much more than a study of Shakespeare's plays, is noticed elsewhere (see Chap. I, 9-11).

Oliver C. de C. Ellis has produced a peculiar book on *Cleopatra in the Tide of Time*.¹⁰ This starts with an account of the historical Cleopatra, in which the known events are intermingled with assurances regarding her thoughts and dreams ('How easy it was for her to live this daydream. . . . One of Cleopatra's first memories would be that of acting as mentor to the High Priest. . . .'). Then comes a survey of the dramatic treatment of her life from the efforts of the sixteenth-century French playwrights onwards, through Shakespeare, to Shaw. The manner in which the volume is written may be illustrated by the fact that when the author comes to Shaw he feels it necessary to go back to the Norman Conquest and to trace Irish history through 'James Stewart's preposterous behaviour in England and in Ireland'. We have moved rather far away from Cleopatra and Shakespeare.

A not dissimilar effort is made by Hermann Sinsheimer in his

⁹ *Shakespeare's Use of the Arts of Language*, by Sister Miriam Joseph, Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xiv + 423. 21s.

¹⁰ *Cleopatra in the Tide of Time*, by Oliver C. de C. Ellis. Williams and Norgate. pp. xv + 286. 12s. 6d.

Shylock.¹¹ This traces the history of the Jews from medieval times and the gradual development of 'The Jew' as a character in myth and fiction before proceeding to analyse Shakespeare's handling of the pound of flesh story. While perhaps it may be considered that Sinsheimer attempts too much in his study, this book is interesting and contains much useful material.

Perry D. Westbrook, writing on *Horace's Influence on 'Antony and Cleopatra'* (*P.M.L.A.*, June), expresses the belief that Shakespeare was influenced in his conception of his play by the Cleopatra Ode and by Epode IX. The ancestry of Caliban is the theme of John E. Hankin's *Caliban the Bestial Man* (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.). He thinks that this character was descended from Aristotle's 'bestial' man, from contemporary demonology and from voyagers' accounts of transatlantic savages. Although indebted in part to Montaigne, Shakespeare adopts a point of view diametrically opposed to that of the French essayist. In *Ophelia's Heritage* (*M.L.R.*, Oct.) W. W. Lawrence skilfully deals with the legendary treatment of Hamlet's mistress. The hero's rudeness is, he deems, intended to be part of his deliberate deception; Ophelia herself is agitated and frightened, accepting Hamlet's words and actions as inspired by madness. Writing on the line, 'My tables, meet it is I set it down' (*M.L.R.*, April), G. Blakemore Evans suggests that Shakespeare was here influenced by a memory of Whitney's *Emblems*: a short note by the same author concerns *Troilus and Cressida*, III, ii; IV, ii; and IV, iv (*M.L.N.*, Jan.). Leah W. Wilkins, in *Shylock's Pound of Flesh and Laban's Sheep* (*M.L.N.*, Jan.), thinks that the story of Laban's Sheep inspired Shylock with the idea of asking for his pound of flesh. In *Two Shakesperian Parallels* (*S.A.B.* July) William Elton traces the ancestry of Autolycus back to *The Four PP* and notes that there is a dramatic anticipation of Menenius's fable of the belly in a French medieval morality.

G. M. Young, stressing the importance of the 'third university'¹²

¹¹ *Shylock: The History of a Character or The Myth of the Jew*, by Hermann Sinsheimer. Gollancz. pp. 147. 9s.

¹² *Shakespeare and the Termers*, by G. M. Young. Annual Shakespeare Lecture O.U.P. for the British Academy. pp. 19. 2s 6d.

and of Shakespeare's associations with the Inns of Court, suggests that numerous lines and characters may have been inspired from this source. What was in Shakespeare's mind when he gave the Bastard in *King John* his final words is discussed by Homer Nearing, Jr. (*N. & Q.*, 14 June). In *Sir John Oldcastle, Legend or Literature?* (*Library*, Dec. 1946–March 1947) Leslie Martin Oliver suggests that scholars have overlooked source material in the easily available literature of the period.

In association with these articles and notes may be mentioned a lively correspondence in *T.L.S.* regarding Hall's *Chronicles*. This was started by Alan Keen (26 April) in a communication which describes a copy of Hall's work with manuscript annotations. Although the handwriting is not that of Shakespeare, Keen hazards the suggestion that this copy was the 'intermediary' through which the playwright worked. In a subsequent issue (31 May) A. P. Rossiter complains that the information given by Keen is too meagre for the formulating of any judgment concerning the validity of his claims. This is answered by Keen (29 Nov.), to which Rossiter replies (10 Jan. 1948) that even yet the evidence has not been presented.

The relationship of *Othello* to Cinthio's tale has been well and minutely examined by Aldo Maugeri.¹³ Kurt Rathe¹⁴ writes learnedly on the source of the phrase regarding the devil's citing of scripture for his own purpose.

An interesting book of critical commentary has been published by Alfred Harbage.¹⁵ The author starts with the assertion that in our responses to the characters of the plays we take sides and that the characters themselves receive their colouring from this process: thus, for example, Hamlet being the sympathetic hero, we feel unsympathetic towards Polonius precisely because he is trusted by Hamlet's enemy. In his ethical approach, Harbage insists, Shakespeare is always moral but never a moralist.

¹³ *Otello e la storia del Capitano Moro* (by) Aldo Maugeri. Messina: Casa Editrice G. D'Anna. pp. 58.

¹⁴ *Un detto shakespeareano e la sua fonte*, (by) Kurt Rathe. Firenze: Leo S. Olshki.

¹⁵ *As They Liked It: An Essay on Shakespeare and Morality*, by Alfred Harbage. Macmillan. pp. xvi + 238. 14s.

This sometimes makes appreciation of his work difficult for moderns:

'The serious work of our time entices us on a journey that leads somewhere. Whether it advocates a new principle or, as is more common, attacks an old one, it strives to leave us elsewhere than at our starting-point. We look about in confusion for our familiar moorings. As is never the case in reading Shakespeare, we come back burdened.'

From this arises a series of critical principles and paradoxes. Of these we may take as an example Harbage's comments on Falstaff. It is fruitless, he asserts, to follow Kittredge in regarding Falstaff as courageous or to share Stoll's view that he is a coward: 'his is the larger guilt of having no principles', and the paradox is that, while 'vice walking on earth is a terrible thing . . . vice dancing in air is a delightful novelty'. Throughout, Harbage's book is full of direct and valuable interpretative comment.

Moody E. Prior, writing on *Character in Relation to Action in 'Othello'* (*Mod. Phil.*, May) argues against the recent 'historical' trend in criticism, believing that this detracts from the dynamic relationship between character and plot. *Othello* he sees created as a whole; Shakespeare was intent on a unity, not, as some have averred, intent merely on individual scenes and the handling of stock qualities. A sharp criticism of another interpretative school is presented in Elmer E. Stoll's *Symbolism in Shakespeare* (*M.L.R.*, Jan.). In particular, he attacks Cleanth Brooks, asserting (a) that there is no symbolism in Shakespeare, and (b) that the search for 'symbols' in such plays as *Macbeth* denies the very nature of drama. While no doubt Stoll has much wisdom on his side, he may be thought to overstress the purely 'theatrical' and to leave no room for the possibility of different levels of appreciation. With these two studies may be compared Lily B. Campbell's *Bradley Revisited: Forty Years After* (*S. in Ph.*, April). Taking Bradley's remarks on the essential sanity of the Shakespearian hero, on the use of the supernatural and on the employment of chance, she endeavours to show that the critic's philosophical pattern is lacking in precision and in clarity. For Miss Campbell the basic tragedy for Shakespeare is man's failure to live by reason, letting passion take hold of him; this failure leads towards disintegration—'Death itself is not so terrible as the loss of the will to live which we see in each of the great tragic heroes of Shakespeare.' In connection with this

essay may be mentioned Irving Ribner's *Lear's Madness in the Nineteenth Century* (S.A.B. July).

A useful analysis is provided by John Arthos in *The Naïve Imagination and the Destruction of Macbeth* (E.L.H., June). Macbeth's 'will to live', he says, 'eventually failed partly because his imagination betrayed his will'. What Shakespeare draws is the portrait of a man into whose mind images come crowding in such confusion as to destroy his understanding of the laws of life. In *Theology* (Dec.) Hans Broszinski, writing on *Christian Reality in 'Macbeth'*, declares that this tragedy 'stands forth as the drama in microcosm of Western Man'. The essential evil thus stressed in *Macbeth* finds a parallel in the evil which dominates in *King Lear* and which is imaginatively dealt with by J. A. Chapman in a stimulating essay (*Nineteenth Century*, Aug.).

In his 1946 lecture (not noticed in Y.W. XXVII) on *The Golden World of 'King Lear'*¹⁶ Geoffrey L. Bickersteth presents an interesting study of the meaning of Shakespeare's tragedy. He sees the object of the poet's imagination to be 'a world characterized above all by the fact that it suffers'—a suffering mysteriously raised to sublime heights by its strange, pulsating vitality. Writing on *Timon of Athens: The Disruption of Feudal Morality* (R.E.S., Oct.) E. C. Pettet sees *Timon* as a kind of mature statement on the theme that had attracted Shakespeare's attention in *The Merchant of Venice*. The playwright's mood 'is confused and often collapses into anarchic despair', but fundamentally, according to Pettet, he is expressing his attitude towards 'the new anti-feudal forces of commercialism, money, and self-interest'. The same confusion of mind, but based on moral rather than economic considerations, is found by E. J. West in an interesting study, *Dramatist at the Crossroads* (S.A.B. July). Here an attempt is made to explain the puzzling qualities of *Measure by Measure*.

Emerson Venable¹⁷ finds the significance of *Hamlet* to lie in the fact that the prince is an evolving character who reaches maturity

¹⁶ *The Golden World of 'King Lear'*, by Geoffrey L. Bickersteth. O.U.P. for the British Academy. pp. 27. 3s.

¹⁷ *The Hamlet Problem and its Solution: An Interpretative Study*, by Emerson Venable. Cincinnati: John G. Kidd. pp. 38. \$1.25.

only towards the very end of the play. The style and structure of this tragedy are examined by L. Verkoren in *Iets over vorm en inhoud van Shakespeare's 'Hamlet'* (*Neophil.*, April). In three essays John W. Draper continues his now familiar studies of 'speech rhythms': *Patterns of Humor and Tempo in 'Macbeth'* (*Neophil.*, Oct.) contrasts the even tenor of Malcolm's words with Macbeth's tense utterances, *Contrast of Tempo in the Balcony Scene* (*S.A.B.* July) discusses an alleged variance in speed between Romeo's lines and Juliet's, while *Patterns of Tempo and 'Humour' in 'Othello'* (*Eng. Stud.*, June) similarly deals with the qualities of Othello's speech. Among other shorter essays note may be taken of Geoffrey Ashe's *Hamlet and Pyrrhus* (*N. & Q.*, 15 May), which suggests that the idea of the 'mousetrap' comes from the player's speech showing the vengeance of a son for a father dead.

The most important essay on any single tragedy is the last of Granville-Barker's *Prefaces*,¹⁸ part of which had already been printed as a separate article, *Verse and Speech in 'Coriolanus'* (*R.E.S.*, Jan.). This presents all the familiar acumen, stage sense and keen critical penetration that have made the author's essays on Shakespeare among the most notable of the twentieth century. Granville-Barker acknowledges at once that '*Coriolanus* cannot be ranked with the greatest of the tragedies' and he wonders whether Shakespeare, in choosing its theme, may have been 'aware of some ebbing of his imaginative vitality' and 'purposefully' chose 'a subject and characters which he could make the most of by judgment and skill'. Of that skill there is much in the play, so that, despite the fact that we do not become involved in *Coriolanus's* fate as we become involved in *Macbeth's*, the drama has a fine, sinewy, gaunt strength. Not least important in Granville-Barker's survey is the analysis of the verse forms, referred to above: he believes that hardly anywhere has Shakespeare gone beyond *Coriolanus* in shaping poetic utterance to the expression of individual character.

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The 'symbolic' method of interpretative criticism so thoroughly rejected by Stoll is represented by two books from the pens of S. L. Bethell and G. Wilson Knight. The former is a study devoted

¹⁸ *Prefaces to Shakespeare*, by Harley Granville-Barker. Fifth Series: *Coriolanus*. Sidgwick and Jackson, pp. viii + 195. 12s. 6d.

entirely to one play—*The Winter's Tale*.¹⁹ In approaching it, Bethell is not afraid to face the problems boldly. Thus, for example, he starts by considering the theory that Shakespeare turned to the world of romance because of a new vogue established by Beaumont and Fletcher: an analysis of the verse convinces him that, 'if in writing *The Winter's Tale* Shakespeare had Beaumont and Fletcher in mind at all, we must see in the astringency of his verse not a conscious imitation but a deliberate criticism and challenge'. An important point is made when Bethell presents arguments to suggest that the notorious sea-coast of Bohemia was not a mistake but a device deliberately employed by the dramatist 'to liberate himself from the localization of his play world in the contemporary map of Europe'. 'In more recent times,' he comments,

'a writer such as W. S. Gilbert might well have presented us with an admiral in the Swiss navy and from such indications a Savoy audience would gauge the degree of reality to be attributed to his plot. It is a great pity that critics of Shakespeare cannot be brought to think of some matters in terms of the Savoyards.'

Thus does Bethell set his stage, and the drama he produces is one through which the playwright expresses his imaginative concepts of sin, repentance and the redemptive power.

A similar approach is made in Wilson Knight's *The Crown of Life*.²⁰ This volume begins with the reprinting of an article, *Myth and Miracle*, originally published in 1929, and this is followed by essays on *Pericles*, *Cymbeline*, *Tempest* and *Henry VIII*. As in all Wilson Knight's writing on Shakespeare there is much of valuable suggestive comment in these studies of the dramatist's last works, even although one may feel at times that the claims made for them are often over emphasized—even although some of the arguments are found, on closer scrutiny, to be invalid. Thus, for example, on two pages (47 and 63) the author comments on the growing importance of ceremonial in the plays of Shakespeare's final period and as proof notes the 'newly studied elaboration of stage direction' in *Pericles*. Unfortunately neither of the stage directions he quotes appears in the original text: they are both the insertions of later editors. This is a matter of fact, but on different grounds we

¹⁹ *The Winter's Tale: A Study*, by S. L. Bethell. Staples Press. pp. 128. 10s. 6d.

²⁰ *The Crown of Life: Essays in Interpretation of Shakespeare's Final Plays*, by G. Wilson Knight. O.U. P. pp. 336. 18s.

may perhaps question other statements as well. Wilson Knight is certainly justified in thinking that the dramatic value of *Henry VIII* has been unduly neglected, but it is questionable whether his claims are aided by the assertion that this 'is the crowning act for which the Ariel of Shakespeare's art has been steadily, from play to play, disciplined and matured'. On the other hand, whatever our doubts about this or that, we recognize throughout these essays the author's stimulating power and keen penetrative analytical skill.

Over-stressed claims of another sort may be thought to appear in a volume, written by Lily B. Campbell, which belongs to an opposed school of critical research.²¹ There can be no doubt concerning the value of this work. Miss Campbell's wide learning enables her to set Shakespeare's history plays much more securely in their setting than has been done in the past, and she is right in underlining the political comment which contemporaries would have found in their scenes. The danger is, of course, that we moderns, poring over Shakespeare and the Elizabethan age, may be inclined to see more in these scenes than any contemporaries would have been likely to discern. One example will suffice. Miss Campbell quotes the conversation in *King John* which prepares for the murder of Arthur and comments: 'What Shakespeare records as a dialogue between King John and Hubert, totally out of character and inconsistent with the story of King John as told in the chronicle, is a dialogue that in essence did take place between Queen Elizabeth and Secretary Davison.' It is hard to believe that either for Shakespeare or for his auditors little Arthur was a disguise for the radiant beauty of Mary, Queen of Scots. Scholars however must remain grateful to the authoress of *Shakespeare's 'Histories'* for the wealth of relevant matter she has here gathered together and for the incisive comments she has made on the dramatic purposes of these plays.

A mirror of a variant sort is provided by Paul S. Conklin in his *History of Hamlet Criticism*.²² This is a valuable study, since it

²¹ *Shakespeare's 'Histories': Mirrors of Elizabethan Policy*, by Lily B. Campbell. San Marino, California: The Huntington Library and C.U.P. pp. xi+346. \$6.75. 35s.

²² *A History of Hamlet Criticism, 1601-1821*, (by) Paul S. Conklin. New York: King's Crown Press and O.U.P. pp. ix+176. \$2.75. 15s.

presents a clear moving picture of the development of a character under the eyes of succeeding readers and theatre-goers. The early prince was esteemed for his eloquence and for his prime quality of malcontent avenger. At the same time, however 'peculiar' Hamlet might be in his disordered passion, even in the first thirty years of the seventeenth century this hero had 'completely become a part of a people'. During the following century the prince begins to wrap about him a cloak of melancholy and his words are abstracted as 'beauties' or 'sentiments'; and thence we move on to the romantic concepts of later times. No more striking example could be found of a fictional character so endowed by his creator with seeming vitality as to make him assume the qualities of a living person, and Conklin has done well to reveal so succinctly and so entertainingly the changing pattern of public appreciation of his virtues.

George Coffin Taylor's *Essays of Shakespeare*²³ needs only brief notice here, since it consists of no more than 'essays' composed from diverse sentences culled out of the plays and poems: its only critical value resides in the stress it lays on Shakespeare's ideas as apart from his imaginative poetic concepts.

The larger theme of the dramatist's beliefs forms the subject of a far vaster volume prepared by Paul Reyher.²⁴ It may be argued that in this lengthy study Reyher makes comparatively little use of the rapidly growing library of works which survey the intellectual concepts prevalent in the period of the English Renaissance, but fundamentally the author's purpose is to survey Shakespeare's own ideas, not to determine how far these were original or not. More valid would seem to be the comment that, despite the enormous survey made, certain ideas (for example, those relating to justice and mercy) are either wholly neglected or dealt with inadequately. It is certainly peculiar that such dramas as *Measure for Measure* receive less attention than others less replete with thought. Despite adverse criticism of this kind, however, Reyher's is an important volume and one which places us yet further in the debt of the distinguished author of *Les masques anglais*. The

²³ *Essays of Shakespeare: An Arrangement*, by George Coffin Taylor. New York: Putnam's. pp. xv + 144.

²⁴ *Essai sur les idées dans l'oeuvre de Shakespeare*, (by) Paul Reyher. Paris: Marcel Didier. pp. xxix + 662. fr. 850,

volume starts with an analysis of the ideas in the comedies and the early tragedies, thence proceeds to a scrutiny of the histories, the later tragedies and the plays of the last period. Most significant perhaps are the comments on the tragic dramas. Reyher's final judgment is that

'la tragédie shakespearienne est la représentation de l'homme, victime de sa nature et des circonstances, qui succombe, le coeur brisé, désespéré, sans se douter de la noblesse du spectacle qu'offrent le conflit en son for intérieur, ses épreuves et ses sacrifices. Le tragique serait donc, en dernière analyse, l'illusion, l'impuissance et la souffrance de l'homme, ainsi que son inconscience ou son ignorance de sa grandeur.'

With this study of Reyher's may be mentioned Frank Thiess's short booklet on *Shakespeare und die Idee der Unsterblichkeit*²⁵—an essay in ethics and political-metaphysical concepts.

The use of animal imagery for the purpose of indicating character is the theme of a book by Audrey Yoder.²⁶ This is concerned first with Shakespeare's indebtedness to Aesop, and secondly with the playwright's animal comparisons as used to delineate villains and heroes, warring factions and humanity in general. A useful examination of the subject, Yoder's little book may provide a link between the critical essays listed immediately above and others which attempt further elucidation of Shakespeare's dramatic purposes by means of scrutiny of his imagery.

Animal Imagery in 'Coriolanus' (M.L.R., Oct.) is, indeed, the theme chosen by J. C. Maxwell for a capable study which attempts to show, from an examination of these images in contrast with those of *Lear* and *Macbeth*, that Shakespeare's mind was dominated in the writing of *Coriolanus* by political concepts.

Richard D. Altick turns to analyse *Symphonic Imagery in 'Richard II'* (P.M.L.A., March). He notes that many critics have commented upon the unity of tone in this play, and finds that the unity itself springs from constant word-play upon certain specific themes. The scenes are dominated by the thought of earth, land and ground; blood is stressed throughout; tongue and speech are often referred to; the plague, a sour-sweet contrast and a jewel-

²⁵ *Shakespeare und die Idee der Unsterblichkeit*, (by) Frank Thiess. Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft; Dortmund: Karl Schwalvenberg. pp. 37.

²⁶ *Animal Analogy in Shakespeare's Character Portrayal*, (by) Audrey Yoder. New York: King's Crown Press and O.U.P. pp. x+150. \$2.50. 14s.

crown image appear and reappear. Here Altick thinks that Shakespeare was moving towards the iterative imagery of his later dramas.

And appropriately this section may close with a reference to William Bliss's strange 'counterblast to commentators', in which the subject of imagery takes a prominent place.²⁷ This work starts off with a severe attack upon those critic-biographers who have dared to go beyond established documentary fact in their accounts of Shakespeare's career, and it is somewhat astonishing to find that such an introduction is followed by a mass of speculation based mainly on allusions within the plays. When Bliss underlines the impress that must have been made on the boy Shakespeare's mind by the country sights and sounds of his native Warwickshire we may all consent to follow him willingly; but what of that which follows? Between 1577 and 1580, we are told, the young poet sailed westwards in the *Golden Hind*—the proof being that later Shakespeare wrote of 'the remainder biscuit after a voyage', a similitude that, according to Bliss, could have come to no one save a sailor. Some years later, we learn, Shakespeare made a second voyage, no doubt in the good ship *Tiger*, was wrecked on the coast of Bohemia, was rescued by some natives and befriended by a visiting English nobleman (of course none other than the Earl of Southampton). Thus far can conjecture proceed if one is content to base theory on chance allusions and diverse similes.

In his masterly little essay on *Shakespeare To-day* (*Britain To-day*, March) F. P. Wilson, after surveying current critical trends, concludes by noting the closer *rapprochement* between scholars and theatre-men during recent years—and this closer *rapprochement* finds concrete testimony in the growing number of studies devoted to the plays as plays and to methods of production. One such study, *Shakespeare and William Poel* (*U.T.Q.*, Oct.), has long been overdue, and now Arthur C. Sprague has laid the foundation for the longer work that the subject deserves. In view of the potent influence exerted by Poel upon actors and producers, and in view, too, of his importance in convincing the theatre that the dramatist's lines should be spoken as he wrote them, it is astonishing

²⁷ *The Real Shakespeare: A Counterblast to Commentators*, by William Bliss, Sidgwick and Jackson. pp. x+311. 18s.

that we should have had to wait so long for this assessment of his key position in the history of Shakespearian production.

A knowledge of the subject of Shakespearian production has been facilitated by another study issued during the year 1947. M. St. Clare Byrne has prepared the first part of her *Shakespearian Production in England*, a set of film-strips accompanied by a valuable duplicated commentary. The years 1700–1800 are thus covered in a series of pictures, carefully selected and annotated with precision. Later parts will bring the story down to our own times.

It is not, of course, only in the professional theatre that Shakespeare has his say: recent years have shown a considerable development in school presentation of his works—and the task of the masters engaged in stimulating their pupils to such activities is likely to be made the lighter by the excellent little book on *Presenting Shakespeare* written by R. C. Peat.²⁸ This contains a general sketch of the growth of the English drama, a brief account of the Elizabethan theatre and an equally brief record of Shakespeare's life. Then come four of the plays presented partly in the original text, partly by means of Lamb's 'Tales', followed by scenes from *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* and by dramatic sketches from the pens of Quiller-Couch and Maurice Baring.

In *The Swan of Avon and the Bricklayer of Westminster* (inaugural lecture at Princeton University), Gerald Eades Bentley provides us with a lively contrast between Shakespeare and Jonson. G. M. Young (*T.L.S.*, 26 April) calls attention to the echo of 'pretty and pathetic' in Chapman's *Humorous Day's Mirth*. Warren B. Austin notes an unrecorded allusion to *Lucrece* in Robert Roche's rare *Eustathia*, published in 1599 (*N. & Q.*, 28 June). In *T.L.S.* (2 Aug.) J. C. Maxwell traces back to Shakespeare two passages in Keats's famous letter to Woodhouse. Further evidence of Keats's study of the dramatist is provided by R. F. Rushbrook in *The Living Hand: A Note on Keats and Shakespeare* (*N. & Q.*, 25 Jan.) and in a succeeding essay (*N. & Q.*, 19 April).

An important study is the latest work of Paul Van Tieghem,

²⁸ *Presenting Shakespeare*, written and arranged by R. C. Peat. Harrap. pp. 247. 3s. 6d.

whose sudden death came shortly after its publication.²⁹ This is the first thorough attempt to trace the fortunes of Shakespeare's plays on the continent of Europe during the eighteenth century. With admirable care Van Tieghem passes from the first vague allusions to the English dramatist on to the critical strictures and the early efforts at translation, thence, through the enthusiasm of Lessing, Herder and Goethe, to complete versions of the works and to stage versions. All countries come under his survey. Quite properly France and Germany occupy most of his attention, but comment is made as well on the fate of Shakespeare during these years in all European lands from Holland in the west to easternmost Russia. This is a book interesting to read and invaluable as a work of reference. With it may be mentioned two studies of differing importance—Henry Gifford's short essay on *Shakespearean Elements in Boris Godunov* (*Slavonic and East European Review*, Nov.), in which is traced the English dramatist's influence on Pushkin, and Ernst Stahl's important lengthy survey of *Shakespeare und das deutsche Theater*.³⁰ This handsome and carefully constructed volume traces the fortunes of the plays in Germany from the time of the English Comedians on to our own times. As a record of accomplishment the volume is of considerable significance, particularly since the documentary evidence gathered by the author is so well illustrated in the rich array of prints and drawings collected by Carl Niessen.

²⁹ *Le Prérromantisme: Études d'histoire littéraire européenne. La découverte de Shakespeare sur le continent*, (by) Paul Van Tieghem. Paris: Sfelt. pp. xi + 412.

³⁰ *Shakespeare und das deutsche Theater* (by) Ernst Leopold Stahl. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag. pp. 768.

VIII

ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

By FREDERICK S. BOÁS

THE publications concerning Elizabethan Drama in 1947 related almost exclusively to individual playwrights or plays. But attention may again here be called to the important article by J. Dover Wilson and W. W. Hunt in *R.E.S.*, July, on *The Authorship of Simon Forman's 'Booke of Plaies'*. Owing to its special Shakespearean connexion this has been mentioned in Chapter VII, 122, but the convincing chain of argument establishing the authenticity of this Forman MS. is instructive to scholars confronted with problems of forgery in the general field of Elizabethan drama.

Among the overwhelming proofs of the genuineness of the MS. two may be singled out. Wilson shows that in his *New Particulars* J. P. Collier evidently did not understand Forman's phrase, 'tottered like coll pixci', *i.e.* a ragged goblin horse. Hunt proves from a note by W. H. Black against the *Booke of Plaies* that when cataloguing the Ashmole MSS. he sent a copy of this item to J. P. Collier.

In an article linking a series of dramatists from Buchanan to Chapman and Tourneur, Michael Higgins discusses *The Development of the 'Senecal Man'* (*R.E.S.*, Jan.). The phrase is used by Guise in *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois* of Bussy's brother, Clermont:

*Come fair or foul, whatever chance may fall,
Fix'd in himself, he still is one to all.*

It is not, however, Clermont but Bussy and some of his precursors that Higgins discusses as examples of the Stoic attitude to life made familiar to Elizabethans in Seneca's tragedies. Hence arose the Renaissance dramatic convention of the Stoic hero, blended in Buchanan's *Jephthes* (where his daughter Iphis has the *beau rôle*) and *Baptistes* with a religious Calvinist element. In Kyd's *Hieronimo* the character goes through a popular stage transformation. In Bussy, Chapman presents him as 'the self-

reliant hero pitting himself against a hostile world and adverse fates', and above all facing death 'like a Roman statue'. It is the humanist aspect of the 'Senecal man' so pronounced in Clermont that Higgins somewhat overlooks in his choice of a title for his article.

In *Some Conjectural Remarks on Elizabethan Dramatists* (N. & Q., 28 June) J. Krzyzanowski suggests verbal emendations in ten plays from *Caesar's Revenge* to *Valentinian*, and also gives a reference to a passage in Suetonius, source of a passage in Lyly's *Midas* (III, i, 21-2) which escaped the notice of Warwick Bond.

John Crow's *Folklore in Elizabethan Drama* (Folklore, Sept.) begins with a tribute to the work of John Brand and of W. J. Thoms, founder a century ago of *Notes and Queries*. After a reference to Shakespeare's 'new point of view' towards folklore, as illustrated by Mercutio's Mab speech, Crow concentrates on Peele's *The Old Wive's Tale* as representing the old, traditional standpoint. He gives a detailed analysis of the curiously loose plot of the play, of which the text, evidently cut for some purpose, is only about half the length of Peele's other pieces. But even if we had a fuller text Crow's belief is that 'Peele had in his mind a number of odd ends of folklore, scraps from a variety of stories, and that he wove them together without really knowing at all what odd end comes from what story'. Among these jumbled stories are 'The Grateful Dead', 'The White Bear of England's Wood', and 'The Three Heads of the Well'. As to Huanebango, in spite of his English hexameters, Crow takes him to be only an amiable giant and not a parody of Gabriel Harvey.

Bernard F. Huppé discusses *Allegory of Love in Lyly's Court Comedies* (E.L.H., June). He finds evidence of such allegory not only in *Sapho & Phao* and *Endimion*, but in *Love's Metamorphosis* and *The Woman in the Moon*. He dismisses in general all historical interpretations of the allegorical aspects of the plays, e.g. of Elizabeth and Alençon in *Sapho and Phao*, or the more plausible of Elizabeth and Leicester in *Endimion*, which he does not even mention.

Huppé finds the basis of Lyly's conception of love in the declaration by Euphues that 'true and vertuous love is to be grounded

upon time, reason, favour and vertue'. The elements of the amoral and the moral, passion and chastity, are at strife, and chastity is fortified by the example of the Virgin Queen. It is impossible within a notice to indicate Huppé's detailed working out of the allegory, as he conceives it, in the four plays. Students must be referred to his article, which is likely to raise discussion.

It is gratifying to salute the revived post-war activities of the Malone Society. The reprint of the 1594 quarto of Lyly's *Mother Bombie*¹ may be noted here, for though it did not appear till 1948, it was planned for 1939. The only two known copies, in the B.M. Garrick plays and the Bodleian Malone Collection, have been collated, and no typographical differences have been found. The reprint includes collotype reproductions of the title-pages and first pages of the 1594 and 1598 quartos, and two title-pages in the *Six Court Comedies*, 1632. There is an appendix of six pages from the 1632 volume containing the texts of the four songs in *Mother Bombie* first printed there, whose authorship is still in debate. There is the usual Malone Reprint list of 'Irregular, Doubtful and Variant Readings', with Latin quotations corrected from Ovid and Terence, and a list of characters in order of appearance. The other Malone Society reprint, planned for 1940, but appearing under the date 1947, is of Edward White's 1592 quarto of *Arden of Feversham*.² The editors reproduce from the Stationers' Register the entry of the book on 5 April 1592 to White, and the decree of the Court on 18 December 1592 that as White had printed *The Spanish Tragedy*, belonging to Abel Jeffes, and Jeffes had printed '*Arden of Kent*' belonging to White, both impressions should be confiscated. Though the order is for confiscation, not destruction, no copy of Jeffes's edition of *Arden* is known to have survived.

The reprint has been prepared from a collation of the three copies of White's 1592 edition in the Malone collection, the Huntington library and the Dyce collection. There is the list of irregular and doubtful readings and of variants in Quarto 2 (1599) and Quarto 3 (1633). The next reprint was by Edward Jacob of Faver-

¹ *Mother Bombie*, by John Lyly, 1594, ed. by Kathleen N. Lea and D. Nichol Smith. Malone Society Reprints, 1939 (1948).

² *Arden of Feversham*, 1592, ed. by Hugh Macdonald and D. Nichol Smith. Malone Society Reprints, 1940 (1947).

sham in 1770, who followed and made known the 1592 edition, of which his copy, there is evidence to show, was that now in the Dyce collection.

Waldo F. McNeir suggests *The Original of Ateukin in Greene's 'James IV'* (*M.L.N.*, June). The play has been truly called 'Greene's unhistorical history play'. But McNeir claims that the villain of the piece, Ateukin, an ambitious foreign adventurer in Edinburgh, may be derived from the Italian John Damian who gained the favour of James IV by his pretended skill in surgery, and by his practice of alchemy and astrology. McNeir points out that the records of Damian's evil activities tally in various points with Ateukin's role in the play.

Bertram Joseph in *T.L.S.* (22 March) identifies the *Theefe of Thessaly* mentioned in Greene's *Orlando Furioso*, Act I, with Cercyon whom Henry Cockeram in his *English Dictionary* (1623) described as 'a famosed theefe of Thessaly'. H. K. Barton (25 April) maintained that the reference by Greene was merely general to the bad reputation of the Thessalonians, and that the particular reference was invented by Cockeram. Ethel Seaton (19 April) pointed out that in Cooper's *Thesaurus* (1584) there are two entries, 'Cercion, a King of Thessaly' and 'Cercyon, a famous robber and theefe in the countrey of Athens'. She suggested that 'theefe of Thessaly' may have resulted from a combination of the two, probably due to bad memory, Joseph (21 June) defended his identification with quotations referring to Cercyon as a thief and wrestler and associating him with Thessaly.

In *A Quotation from Greene in Dekker's 'Shoemaker's Holiday'* (*N. & Q.*, 28 June) A.D. finds the source of Simon Eyre's 'Prince am I none, yet am I princely born' in *Orlando Furioso* (I, 193), 'I am no King, yet am I princely born.'

J. C. Maxwell (*N. & Q.*, 4 Oct.) suggests as *An Emendation in Greene* for 'love or not love' in *A Looking Glass for London*, l. 148, 'lawe or not lawe', i.e. *sive fas sive nefas*.

A. Davenport in *Dekker's 'Westward Hoe' and Hall's 'Virgide-miae'* (*N. & Q.*, 5 April) shows that the passage in *Westward Hoe* concerning 'a masticke patch' upon some woman's temples is an echo of Hall's description of Gellia (*Virg.*, Part II, vi, 105-8).

Davenport gives two other reminiscences, and a number of other possible echoes, all in the parts of the play usually assigned to Dekker.

Marlovian scholarship has in recent years been much indebted to American research and criticism. But Charles Norman's biography of the dramatist, with its title adopted from Peele, *The Muses' Darling*,³ cannot be classed as helpful to serious students. In his foreword Norman states, 'Although I am largely indebted to the research of others . . . I cannot help remarking at the start that it is precisely what they failed to do that led me to undertake this biography. My aim was to bring him and his friends and enemies into focus—first, as men, second as Elizabethans against the background of their time.'

Norman's method, while claiming to adhere to the documentary records, is to give 'dramatic reconstructions' of incidents and situations in Marlowe's career. Thus of his undergraduate years at Corpus Christi College, in a ground-floor chamber shared with three others, 'gathering the slow somber harvest of disillusionment', Norman writes, 'I see him alone there, in the room that had been a storehouse, with the books that he left hidden from his roommates, books that were his own storehouses of delight, his "infinite riches in a little roome", as he was to write later.'

There are similar reconstructions of Marlowe's supposed first meeting with Shakespeare ('was it in Shoreditch or Southwark?'); and the visit of the officers of the law to Thomas Kyd's chamber where they found (of which there is no evidence) the play of *Sir Thomas More*, and the heretical papers which, as Kyd declared, belonged to Marlowe.

The best that can be said about Norman's book is that its flamboyant phraseology may attract those who have hitherto known little of Marlowe, while more sophisticated readers will find useful the reproductions of documents, title-pages, and so forth with which it is liberally endowed.

To *Rivista di Letterature Moderne* (Sept.-Dec.) Nemi D'Agostino contributes an article on *Ideologia del Marlowe*. This is of

³ *The Muses' Darling*, by Charles Norman. The Falcon Press. pp. xvi + 272. 12s. 6d.

interest as a proof that Italian post-war scholarship is concerning itself with Marlowe and is keeping in touch with certain aspects of Marlovian criticism. D'Agostino refers to Praz, T. S. Eliot, Una Ellis-Fermor, and especially to 'il Braddbrook' (where there is a mistake of sex) and Bakeless, but there is no mention of Tucker-Brooke, L. C. Martin and others.

Kit was of modest origin but D'Agostino exaggerates the poverty of his home conditions when he makes this accountable in the first place for the gorgeous imaginings by contrast in his plays.

'In qualche momento della sua gioventù, che probabilmente non conobbe amore né amicizia, egli dovette accorgersi dell' "ingiusto" contrasto fra la vita di quanti erano come lui, poveri al mondo, e le sconfinite possibilità di gioia, che si offrono a chi è "più ricco in speranze", perché più ricco in denaro e potere.'

But whatever its source, there developed in Marlowe that limitless desire, which is the hall-mark of all his protagonists. 'Per il quotidiano, per il normale, per l'inerzia Marlowe sembra avere un vero horror vacui.' D'Agostino proceeds to develop this thesis in detail, more especially in relation to *Tamburlaine* and *Doctor Faustus*. He goes very fully into the opening monologue of *Faustus*, rejecting all stages of knowledge in favour of magic. It is characteristic of his independent approach that he defends the humorous scenes in the middle of the play as providing a useful contrast to the tragic issues.

In connexion with the above study may be mentioned an article in the 1946 summer number of the New York periodical *Science and Society*, which has now come to hand. Clarence Green discusses *Dr. Faustus: the Tragedy of Individualism* in the light of recent events. 'Marlowe's Faustus pursues his own interest recklessly. In doing so he brings disaster upon himself. We of the twentieth century can understand this outcome better than Marlowe could possibly have done. We have seen this grandiose cult of the omnipotent individual play itself out. . . . Marlowe is not the only writer who has said more than he means.'

Johnstone Parr, who has specialized in the study of astrological references in Elizabethan plays, discusses *The Horoscope of Mycetes in 'Tamburlaine I'* (*P.Q.*, Oct. 1946). Cosroe, the brother of

Mycetes, laments that Persia, once the seat of mighty conquerors should now

*be ruled and governed by a man
At whose birthday Cynthia with Saturn joined,
And Jove, the Sun, and Mercury denied
To shed their influence on his fickle brain.*

Parr quotes passages from contemporary adepts in astrology to the effect that a conjunction between Saturn and the Moon (Cynthia) was most malignant and would account for Mycetes' weak mentality and vacillating activities.

On the other hand, as Parr shows by further quotations, the influence of Jupiter, the most powerful of the beneficent planets, could have mitigated the evil effects of the conjunction, as could also Sol and Mercury, on Mycetes' mentality. But these were 'denied'. Thus Cosroe's astrological lore furnished him 'with a splendid motive for his contempt and revolt'.

E. H. Neville comments (*T.L.S.*, 12 July) on the astronomical passage in *II Tamburlaine*, II, iv, 51-4, concerning an eclipse, when the spheres of the sun and moon

*are mounted on the serpent's head,
Or else descended to his winding train.*

Una Ellis-Fermor in her edition interpreted 'serpent' as the sign Scorpio. Neville challenges this, and, quoting from contemporary astronomical treatises, shows that 'serpent' is here equivalent to 'dragon'. As he puts it, 'the ascending node of the moon's path', cutting across that of the sun, 'was known as the dragon's head, and the descending node as the dragon's tail, wherever in the ecliptic these points happened to be situated'.

Another passage in *II Tamburlaine*, V, iii, 91-2 is discussed by J. C. Maxwell under the heading 'Crisis' (*T.L.S.*, 4 Jan.). The lines run in the printed text:

*Besides, my love, this day is critical,
Dangerous to those whose crisis is as yours.*

Maxwell holds that this is tautological and that Marlowe in l. 92

wrote 'crasis', i.e. temperament, though the word is not recorded in this sense before 1616.

Raymond H. Houk in '*Doctor Faustus*' and '*A Shrew*' (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.) holds that the parallel passages in the two plays are due to a common source in an earlier form of *Doctor Faustus* than the 1604 and 1616 texts. He makes the not very plausible suggestion that this hypothetical manuscript 'may well have had variant readings inserted as interlinear revisions', e.g. *beards* as a gloss of *pickadevaunts*, thus accounting for the former word in the 1616 text and the latter in the 1604. The most novel part of Houk's article is a comparison between part of the dialogue in the scene between Kate and her music master Valeria in *A Shrew* and that between the Duchess of Anholt and Faustus. The situations are very different but some verbal parallels are of interest.

The descriptive catalogue of English Poetry in the National Book League Exhibition, April 1947, compiled by John Hayward, included an unrecorded copy of the 1609 quarto of *Doctor Faustus*. It is one of ten plays in a volume in the library of Lord Leconfield, and makes the third of the known copies of this edition.

In *P.M.L.A.*, June 1941, Paul H. Kocher showed that Francis Hotman provided Marlowe with his chief material for Scenes i-vi, and part of viii of *The Massacre at Paris* (see *Y.W.*, xxii, 125-6). Now Kocher in *Contemporary Pamphlet Background for Marlowe's 'The Massacre at Paris'* (*M.L.Q.*, June) discusses the sources for the other scenes in the play. For this purpose he has examined some fifty contemporary pamphlets, Protestant and Catholic, French and English, and concludes that 'the luridness of Marlowe's drama, both in action and characterization, stems directly from the luridness of typical Protestant interpretation. . . . Notably nearly every one of the resounding villainies of Guise is traceable to the rabid anti-Catholic diatribes currently circulating in France and England,' and not to the stage tradition of Machiavellism.

Kocher deals first with what he calls the climactic scene, xviii, the murder of Guise, and the three that follow to the end of the play. From the quotations given from the pamphlets Marlowe is seen to have been faithful to their general purport, though in details of time and place, in the warning given to Guise by one of the murderers, in the lamentation of the Queen-mother for the Duke, and

in the dying Henry III's message to Elizabeth, the dramatist has taken his own line. The pamphlet background for 'Scenes vii to xvii is harder to decipher. To take a leading episode, the illicit love of the Duchess of Guise for Mugeroun (really Saint-Megrin) and its fatal issue," in Scenes xii, xiv and xvii, is not known in any earlier version than the guarded account by De Thou about 1610. But Kocher believes that Marlowe must have drawn upon a source akin to, possibly the same as, that used later by De Thou.

R. G. Howarth in *Notes on Chapman* (N. & Q., 15 Feb.) points out that Allot attributes the 2054th extract in *England's Parnassus*, nine blank verse lines, to Chapman, but that the first four of these are a version of part of Tamburlaine's address to Zenocrate in Part I, Act V, ii. Howarth suggests that the whole passage is probably Marlowe's, altered to suit Zenocrate weeping. On the other hand he thinks that Allot is right in ascribing extract 2055 to Chapman, since two of the lines almost reappear in *Ovid's Banquet of Sense*. It is a blank verse passage of 14 lines, ending in a couplet, which supports the view that Chapman may have experimented in this sonnet form (see *Y.W.* xxv, 102). Howarth also has a note on Chapman's use of 'Lucidius olim' (see also p. 165).

The very title of Lawrence B. Wallis's detailed study, *Fletcher Beaumont and Company*,⁴ is significant. By reversing the traditional order of the two names, Beaumont and Fletcher, Wallis indicates that it is his intention to claim for Fletcher a more predominant part in the partnership with Beaumont and other collaborators than has been usually allowed. 'He was the innovating master craftsman of this group of dramatists, however great the abilities of the sometimes over-praised Beaumont.' Furthermore, as Wallis holds, the most valuable approach to these playwrights is 'to look at them as the practical men of the theatre that they were rather than as great dramatic poets—even if that led to understressing their indubitable poetic gifts'.

It is the failure to recognize that their primary aim was to entertain the gentry of their own day that has led to the progressive decline in their reputation, as evidenced in the body of criticism which Wallis surveys in Part I of his volume. Instead of their

⁴ *Fletcher, Beaumont and Company: Entertainers to the Jacobean Gentry*. New York: King's Crown Press. London: O.U.P. pp. xii + 315. \$3.75. 21s.

seventeenth-century recognition as forming with Shakespeare and Jonson the leading theatrical triumvirate, 'Beaumont and Fletcher, but more especially the latter, are even accused of heavy responsibility in the decay of Stuart drama'.

In Part II Wallis seeks to redress the balance 'by a re-interpretation which takes into account the conditions in which they wrote. By birth and education their sympathies were aristocratic and monarchist, but Wallis defends them from the imputation of being 'servile divine rightists'. He suggests that their taste in their university days was moulded by the *Arcadia* and other aristocratic prose romances and pastorals, English and foreign; and that in London they frequented the 'private' Blackfriars theatre, notable for its spectacular and musical effects, when occupied from 1600 to 1608 by the Children of the Chapel and afterwards by the King's Company in winter. When Beaumont and Fletcher 'turned to romantic and passionate substance in *Philaster*', they carried over into their new type of tragi-comedy much of what they had learned at the private theatre, and also from Jonson and Shakespeare. But Wallis is asking for trouble when he claims that *Pericles* 'lies in the immediate background of *Philaster*'.

He seems on firmer ground when he quotes Herrick's testimony that 'the rare plot' of *A King and no King* was Fletcher's, and argues that in the construction of this play and of *Philaster* and *The Maid's Tragedy* he had the main initial share while Beaumont's part was chiefly that of polisher and reviser. However this may be, their work marked a new departure. 'Most of the plays which preceded *Philaster* . . . were organized in terms of such narrative elements as character and intrigue or event. . . . Beaumont and Fletcher however and the later collaborators organized the materials of their dramas squarely round the network of conflicting emotions which they had envisioned, and with which they wished to play upon the sensibilities of their audience.' Herein they hit exactly the taste of their day, and it is by this standard, as Wallis contends in this scholarly and suggestive study, that they are to be judged.

Further evidence of the attention now being given to Fletcher's achievement is to be found in the monograph by Marco Mincoff on *Baroque Literature in England*.⁵ This essay has in fact grown out of a study of Beaumont and Fletcher which Mincoff hopes to

⁵ *Baroque Literature in England*, by Marco Mincoff. Sofia: Univ. Press.

complete later. Meanwhile he has detached it as treating of the general question of Baroque in the various arts. But he has here stated summarily his view that it is a mistake to see in Beaumont and Fletcher a mere debasement of Shakespeare's type of drama. Fletcher, in especial, consciously or not, was striving after a different type, and became 'the first Baroque dramatist in England, the first, I believe, in Europe'. He thus, according to Mincoff, anticipated the principles of Restoration drama, and is closer to Dryden than to Shakespeare.

J. C. Maxwell in *A Dramatic Echo of an Overburian Character* (N. & Q., 28 June) finds in the Overburian 'A Meere Scholar' the source of the paradoxical remark in *The Elder Brother*, I, ii, 'For what concerns Tillage who better can deliver it than Virgil in his *Georgicks*, and to cure your herds his *Bucolicks* is a masterpiece.

James E. Savage in *Beaumont and Fletcher's 'Philaster' and Sidney's 'Arcadia'* (E.L.H., Sept.) argues that not *Montemayor's 'Diana'* but the *Arcadia* was the main source of *Philaster*, the materials being transmitted through *Cupid's Revenge*. In both of these plays Savage finds seven character types, the love-lorn maiden, the evil woman, the noble but sentimental hero, the faithful friend, the brutish boor, the disguised page and the gullible old king. For all of these he finds in a detailed analysis, to which readers must be referred, prototypes in the *Arcadia*. But while *Cupid's Revenge* is structurally defective, *Philaster* combines all the elements into an excellent design.

Percy Simpson commenting (*T.L.S.*, 2 Aug.) on Fletcher's line in *Rollo, the Duke of Normandy*, Act II, ii,

This wooden skiff holds nothing,

states that *skiff* is a nonce word, and is a rendering of Latin *scyphus*, a bowl. R. L. Rattray (ibid., 9 Aug.) suggested that it was derived from *scapjan* = to shape, and that it was a doublet of *skep*, a vessel. Simpson answered (16 Aug.) that *skep* was a basket or hamper, but not a vessel for holding liquid, and that the *O.E.D.* did not give *skiff* as a doublet.

In *Ben Jonson and Father Thomas Wright* (E.L.H., Dec.)

Theodore A. Stroud makes an interesting attempt to identify the priest who, as he told Drummond, in 1598 visited Jonson in prison and converted him for twelve years to Roman Catholicism. Stroud argues in favour of Thomas Wright, for whose pamphlet *The Passions of the Minde in Geherall* Ben wrote a dedicatory sonnet. Wright's work was completed in September 1598, but owing to action by the Bishop of London, the authorized edition including Jonson's sonnet did not appear till 1604.

Wright, though a Jesuit, distinguished himself by urging his fellow Roman Catholics to show loyalty to Elizabeth and thus to secure toleration for their creed. The favour of the Earl of Essex procured him liberty of movement till he was confined in Bridewell for converting William Alabaster. It was during this period, Stroud suggests, that he also made a convert of Jonson, to whom his special standpoint was likely to appeal.

In *The Comic Humours: A New Interpretation* (P.M.L.A., March) Henry L. Snuggs aims at giving a solution of the discrepancy between Jonson's psychological definition of a 'humour' in the Introduction to *Every Man out of his Humour* and the affectations and eccentricities which as humours are so often the objects of his satire. After giving a number of examples Snuggs suggests that the explanation lies 'in Jonson's deliberate use of the term in two senses: one, as defined in the often quoted passage, a genuinely ingrained temperament in accord with humoral psychology; the other, the prevalent extension and misconception of the term, an assumed or temporary characteristic, the assumption of which was itself absurd and demanded satirical treatment.' From critical statements by Dryden, Shadwell and Congreve, Snuggs claims that Jonson's conception of the comic humour was carried over with little change into the Restoration.

Allan H. Gilbert discusses the significance of *The Italian Names* in 'Every Man out of his Humour' (*S. in Ph.*, April). Ben wished the names to tell the spectators something of the characters. For those who might be puzzled by them Florio's Italian-English dictionary, *A Worlde of Wordes* (1598) would be helpful. Gilbert goes through the names of the chief characters in the play, beginning with Carlo Buffone, whose role corresponds with Florio's definition of *buffone* as a 'jester, a foole, a pleasant companion'.

The other names, all found in Florio's manual, 'cover the characters with varying completeness', and were probably taken from *A Worlde of Wordes* with which, Gilbert assumes, many in the theatre would be familiar. For the rest Jonson thought the expressive power of the Italian names so great 'that he was willing to risk puzzling spectators and readers unacquainted with Italian'. •

Henry D. Gray in *The Chamberlain's Men* and *'The Poetaster'* seeks to identify the actors whom Jonson satirizes in his play. For reasons which he gives in each case, in 'Histrio' he sees Phillips, in 'Seven-shares and a half' Burbage, in 'Aenobarbus' Cowley, in 'Frisker my Zany' Arnim, in 'your fat fool' Pope, in 'the lean Poluphagus' Sincklo. But Gray's chief concern is to find in 'your Aesop, your politician' no other than Shakespeare. When Aesop in the last scene of *Poetaster* gives a treasonable interpretation of Horace's emblem, Gray sees in this 'a damnatory comment passed upon something Jonson had written, presumably his last play, *Cynthia's Revels*'. His conjecture is that through Shakespeare's intervention *Cynthia's Revels* had not been presented at Court, and that this had incensed Jonson. In fairness to Gray his argument should be read in full, but it will not readily be believed that Jonson who was later to do honour to his memory, 'this side of idolatry' could call him a slave who 'smells ranker than some sixteen dunghills', and have Caesar order him to be whipt.

Ralph Nash in *The Comic Intent in 'Volpone'* (*S. in Ph.*, Jan.) argues that critics have seen the play in darker colours than was intended by Jonson, who in the prologue declared that all gall was drained from his ink and that 'only a little salt remaineth'. Nash maintains that 'throughout the play the ruling spirit of master and parasite is that of delight in their own cleverness and malicious pleasure in gulling the stupid legacy hunters'. The subordinate characters also, and the sub-plot of Sir Politique and Lady Would-be, are further comic elements.

If the play ends with the discomfiture not only of the legacy-hunters, but with that of Volpone and his parasite, who overreach themselves, this near-tragic catastrophe is due to what Jonson in his dedicatory epistle calls his 'speciall ayme'. This is 'to

put the snaffle in their mouths' who censure comedies for never punishing vice.

Ellen M. T. Duffy in *Ben Jonson's Debt to Renaissance Scholarship in 'Sejanus' and 'Catiline'* (*M.L.R.*, Jan.) aims at showing that Jonson in his two Roman tragedies had as his main immediate sources the writings of Renaissance classicists. Thus for *Catiline* he possessed a copy of the *Historia Coniurationis Catilinae* by C. F. Durantius which 'provided him with apposite extracts from the ancient accounts, and a convenient summary of events in table form'. When Jonson deviated from Sallust's story and accepted the accounts in lesser sources, he was following Durantius.

In his preface to *Sejanus* Jonson stated that he had used the 1600 quarto edition of Tacitus, edited by Lipsius and published at Antwerp. In his voluminous notes to the play Jonson acknowledges some of his debts to Lipsius, but Miss Duffy draws attention to a number of others. She claims, however, that his use of contemporary aids does not detract from his scholarship. 'His desire to have accuracy and truth of argument was probably responsible for his use of particular editions.'

Another aspect of Jonson's debt to contemporary scholarship is illustrated by D. J. Gordon in *Ben Jonson's 'Haddington Masque': the Story and the Fable* (*M.L.R.*, April). Gordon gives a description of the Masque in honour of the wedding of Viscount Haddington and Lady Elizabeth Ratcliffe, in which Venus and Vulcan are predominant figures. For many of his details Jonson went to Conti's *Mythologiae* and the Latin translation of Cartari's *Imagini dei Dei degli Antiche*. For borrowings from Homer he used the edition by Spondanus, which added to the Greek text a Latin translation and a detailed commentary.

None the less Jonson showed his originality by his ingenious manipulation of his stock mythological materials. According to Gordon's interpretation, for the details of which reference must be made to his article, he conveyed 'a general truth which makes the masque more than the elegant celebration of a particular marriage, which turns the story into a fable: a fable about marriage' and its fulfilment.

In *Current Scholarly Works and the 'Erudition' of Jonson's*

'*Masque of Augurs*' (*S. in Ph.*, Oct.) Ernest W. Talbert continues his demonstration (see *Y.W.*, xxiv, 117) that many of Ben's classical references are drawn from contemporary handbooks. In the *Masque of Augurs* his sources are mainly Comes' *Mythologia*, the *Dictionarium* of Charles Stephanus and the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* of his brother Robert. Quotations from Jonson's glosses to the text of the masque compared with these sources put this beyond doubt.

For his material for augurial practices Jonson went chiefly to *Antiquitates Romanae* of Rosinus and the *Commentarius* of Peucer. But though Jonson's erudition had been exaggerated, this is no disparagement to his scholarly zeal. As Talbert sums up, 'no one other than Jonson so obviously and so carefully bothered to provide learned particulars for a 'transitory device'. He thus brought classical learning into the Court, the very centre of the kingdom.

The aim of Freda L. Townsend's article, *Ben Jonson's 'Censure' of Rutter's 'Shepherds Holy-Day'* (*Mod. Phil.*, May), is to arrive at Jonson's own conception of what constituted a good pastoral play. Ben's 'censure' of Joseph Rutter's play in a poem prefixed to it was unqualified commendation. He also spoke favourably of Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*. He thus gave his approval to a dramatic type which did not exist in classical times and on which Aristotle's authority could not be cited. But the Italian Guarini, author of *Il Pastor Fido*, claimed that pastoral tragi-comedy took from both tragedy and comedy what could be combined in a single form.

Miss Townsend points out that while both Fletcher's and Rutter's plays conform in many respects with Guarini's views of pastoral drama, they both, especially Rutter's, are lacking in a single form, the Aristotelian unity of action. Therefore when Jonson praised them he 'was not even classical in the more elaborate Renaissance sense'. And that he recognized that types of drama should admit of development and change is plain from some of the lines in the prologue to his unfinished *The Sad Shepherd*.

*But that no stile for Pastorall should goe
Current, but what is stamp'd with Ah and O;
Who judgeth so, may singularly erre:
As if all Poesie had one character.*

In *A Ben Jonson Puzzle* (*T.L.S.*, 13 Sept.) Oliver Lodge suggests a new solution of the problem why Jonson changed the name of the chambermaid in *The New Inn* from 'Cis' to 'Pru'. The editors of the Oxford *Jonson* thought Ben wished to 'modify a personal allusion which cannot now be identified'. Lodge quotes from the second Epilogue to the play

Such as will not hisse.

Because the chambermaid was named Cis.

and thinks that the change may have been made because 'the mere sound of the name Cis . . . suggested hissing to an audience hostile for other reasons'.

The Satiric and the Didactic in Ben Jonson's Comedies, by Helena W. Baum (Univ. of N. Carolina Press), and *Apologie for 'Bartholomew Fayre': the Art of Jonson's Comedies*, by Freda L. Townsend (*M.L.A.N.*) were not available for notice.

In *A Deed of Gift* (1624) and *John Webster* (*N. & Q.*, 13 Nov.) F. C. Morgan calls attention to what may be a sidelight on the dramatist's biography. On 1 March 1624 Sir John Leman, alderman of London, made a charitable deed of gift of premises at the sign of the Blue Anchor in the Minories to eighteen parishioners of St. Botolph's, of whom a John Webster was one.

A. W. Reed contributed to *T.L.S.* (14 June) a notable discovery of a debt of John Webster to Erasmus. In his colloquy *Funus* Erasmus gives an account of the death of the wealthy soldier of fortune, Georgius Balearicus, attended by a Dominican and a Franciscan friar who places a crucifix and a candle before him and address to him the *admonitiones morienti*. In *The White Devil*, V, iii, Lodovico and Gasparo, disguised as Capuchins, similarly hold a crucifix and candle before the dying Brachiano, and in turn admonish him. Reed gives the parallel passages from the play and the colloquy, and Webster's borrowing is transparent. Reed further suggests that the Latin admonitions in Act V, iii are related to the disguises in Act V, i, 'and so with the general design and construction of Webster's fifth act'.

A leading article in *T.L.S.* (1 Feb.), *Webster's Women*, dealt with the heroines of *The White Devil* and *the Duchess of Malfi*

'In both he announces to a world which had been astonished by the strength and influence of a Queen the greatness of women', their 'genius and fortitude'. Incidentally a comparison is drawn between Webster and Sir Thomas Browne.

M. C. Bradbrook has *Two Notes upon Webster* (*M.L.R.*, July). The first is termed 'Fate and Chance' in *The Duchess of Malfi*, but in a detailed analysis, for which 'Note' is too slight a label, she discusses such factors in the play as different types of curse, the Black Art, 'the influence of the stars', the agencies of Fortune or Chance and Fate, between which he was 'able to resist the temptation to state a case'. The second Note instances 'Some parallels between *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Byron* and *The Duchess of Malfi*'. Miss Bradbrook quotes similar passages from Chapman and Webster, in particular relating to the French Court of Henri IV. But she lays chief stress on the identity that she finds in the character and situation of Byron and the Duchess. Not only are they 'the starres tennisb alles . . . their fates have been shown as springing also from what they are, from their heroic natures, arrogant, reckless, generous, impulsive, and blind to the claims of "authority" and "degree" '.

William Peery in '*Eastward Ho!*' and '*A Woman is a Weathercock*' (*M.L.N.*, Feb.) points out that Golding's prophecy to Quicksilver, 'Methinks I see thee already walking in Moorfields . . . borrowing and begging threepence' is echoed by Captain Pouts in Field's play, 'Zouns! methinks I see myself in Moorfields, upon a wooden leg, begging three pence'. Peery suggests that Field may have acted in *Eastward Ho!* perhaps as Golding, and remembered a passage which had proved effective in the theatre.

In a *Note on a Commonplace: The Three Souls* (*P.Q.*, Oct. 1946) William Peery corrects an editorial misreading in a dialogue between Bold and Lady Bright in Field's *Amends for Ladies*, IV, i. In an argument on the respective functions of men and animals, both quartos read:

*if this could be, far happier
Are sensitive souls in their creation
Than man, the prince of creatures.*

Hazlitt and Verity emended to 'insensitive', forgetting the commonplace of the three souls, the 'vegetative, the sensitive, and the rational', the sensitive being the animal soul.

J. F. Kermode traces *The History of Massinger's 'The Fatal Dowry' in the Eighteenth Century* (*N. & Q.*, 3 May). It was the source of Rowe's *The Fair Penitent*, where Altamont is modelled on Charalois. It was also the basis of *The Guiltless Adulteress*, an anonymous play in the possession of Cibber who commissioned Aaron Hill to re-write it. This appeared in 1758 as *The Insolvent*, and Kermode gives some examples of how after two revisions an unexpectedly high proportion of Massinger's language was retained.

Mildred G. Christian throws *A Sidelight on the Family History of Thomas Middleton* (*S. in Ph.*, July) from legal documents. His father, William, before his death in January 1586, left his 'Curtain' and Stebunheath properties to his wife, Anne, who conveyed them to her children, Avice and Thomas. On 7 November 1586 she married Thomas Harvey, who had recently returned from Virginia. Harvey ran through her money, and actions at law followed in which he tried to get away the Curtain property from her children. But he failed, for in June 1600 Thomas was able to sell his half of the property to his sister Avice's husband.

The chief object of Florence R. Scott's article, *Teg—The Stage Irishman* (*M.L.R.*, July) is to show that J. O. Bartley was wrong (see *Y.W.*, xxii, 170) in placing Sir Robert Howard's play, *The Committée*, 1662, in the period of the development of the stage Irishman which he termed 'indifferent', in contrast with a previous 'realistic' one. Miss Scott claims that Teg in Howard's comedy was the first authentic characterization of an Irishman, and that the 'stock' figure developed largely from him.

In support of her conclusion she deals with four types in plays previous to 1660, the Irish in the dumb show, the sham Irishman, the Irish soldier, and the Irish serving-man. She begins with Shakespeare's only Irishman, MacMorris in *Henry V* and carries her survey down to Shirley's *Hyde Park* (1632) and Field's *Amends for Ladies* (1638). They created the background for Howard's Teg, but no more. (See also Chapter XI, p. 197.)

Clifford Leech in *D.U.J.* (June) calls for renewed attention to Francis Jaques, Author of '*The Queene of Corinth*'. This is one of four plays in MS. Lansdowne 807, which, according to Warburton's doubtful story, escaped destruction by his cook. The title-page describes it as 'Written by Fran: Jaques—Anno Dom. 1642'. Leech quotes the account of the MS. given by W. W. Greg in *Dramatic Documents from the Elizabethan Playhouses*, and gives a slightly fuller list of alterations and additions. Leech's view is that the MS. is probably an author's autograph.

Leech's attempts to find out anything about Francis Jaques have proved fruitless. He cannot be identified with either of the two known men of that name, a silk-dyer of London in 1667 and a lieutenant in Tangier in 1664. And it is very doubtful if he is the 'F.J.' who made additions to Randolph's adaptation of the *Plutus* of Aristophanes in 1651. 'If "F.J." was Jaques, he could write', says Leech, 'in a very different style from the one that he had used in 1642.'

Leech gives an analysis of the complicated plot of *The Queene of Corinth*, with its violent actions and incestuous passions, mingled with some topical allusions. Of his contemporaries he shows chiefly the influence of Shirley, especially in *The Coronation* and *The Doubtful Heir*. The quotations given from the play show that he could write competent blank verse, and justify Leech's conclusion that 'Jaques at his best is good enough to arouse attention and curiosity'.

The Boston Public Library possesses copies of all the first editions of Richard Brome's Plays, except *The Northern Lass*, of which it has the second edition (1663). In the Library's monthly *Bulletin*, *More Books* (Oct.) Elizabeth Cook has made a study of his dramatic work. She stresses the fact that though Jonson was his master, 'he learned the craft not from Jonson's principles but his practice; and his own practice changed to accommodate the taste of his audience and the exigencies of his stage'. Thus he gives a novel interpretation to 'Humours', with the meaning shifting to express a momentary whim or an individual style.

He has an interest in local colour, and in rustic custom, and when *A Jovial Crew* was turned into an opera in the next century it satisfied an appetite for antiquarian folk-lore. Miss Cook further discusses the problem of the moral tendencies of Brome's plays.

IX

THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD: POETRY AND PROSE

I. THE LATER TUDOR PERIOD

By D. J. GORDON

THERE has been a marked increase in the number of publications that require notice, and among them are contributions of some importance, that deserve and will obtain elsewhere the detailed consideration that cannot be given them here.

In *Edmund Spenser's Gown and Shilling* (*R.E.S.*, July) Douglas Hamer examines a legend about Spenser's early days and finds it baseless. The story has gone that while at school—the Merchant Taylors'—and at Cambridge, Spenser's poverty was such that he had to get assistance from a fund bequeathed by Robert Nowell for the benefit of 'poor scholars'. Hamer contends that the entries relating to Spenser in the account book that gives details about how Nowell's money was spent have been misunderstood because they have not been seen in the full context of this document. He argues convincingly that Spenser received a gown and shilling (the shilling had escaped the notice of earlier scholars) not because he was very poor, but because he was one of the band of schoolboys who walked in Nowell's funeral procession: like the others Spenser had the gown to wear on this occasion and the shilling as payment for taking part. Hamer also examines the meaning of the phrase 'poor scholar' and points out that by this time it had become something of a formula and did not necessarily indicate poverty as we might understand it. Payments made to Spenser at Cambridge should be thought of with this in mind. Spenser shared the appellation in the Nowell account book with a scholar of Eton. But in fact while Spenser was at Pembroke he was only allowed 8s. 6d. in addition to 10s. on going up. The evidence, Hamer concludes, might argue moderate means, certainly not extreme poverty.

A. C. Judson continues with his painstaking efforts to recon-

struct the *milieu* of Spenser's life. His paper on *Spenser and the Munster Officials* (*S. in Ph.*, April) gives accounts of the men who held the posts of chief justice, second justice, attorney general and provost marshal in Munster while Spenser was deputy clerk of the Council there. These are the men: Sir Nicholas Walshe, Jessua Smythes, William Saxey, John Myagh, James Goold, Robert Rosyer, Richard Beacon, John Ashfield, William Robinson, Henry Gosnall, George Thornton, Sir John Norris and Sir Thomas Norris. But we have no positive information about Spenser's relations with these fellow-officials.

Most important, of course, and most welcome is the second and final volume of *Spenser's Minor Poems* in the Johns Hopkins Variorum Edition of the poet's works.¹ We have here the poems from *A Theatre for Wordlings*, *Complaints*, *Amoretti*, *Epithalamion* and *Prothalamion*, and collections of the commendatory sonnets and the fragments, with a list of the 'lost works'. The texts are followed by commentaries, appendices dealing with special problems, an appendix on the text, an index of sources and analogues and a bibliography. As far as Spenser's verse is concerned the Variorum Edition is now complete; and we already have A. C. Judson's *Life* which serves as Introduction; what remains to be done are the prose writings—and, one hopes, an index.

Spenser's Sonnet to Harvey which Harvey published at the end of *Four Letters*, was really written, according to Warren B. Austin (*M.L.N.*, Jan.), in commendation of a volume of verse satires which Harvey intended to publish (there is other evidence about this plan of Harvey's) and is the sonnet which Harvey refers to in connexion with this project in the text of the *Letters* itself.

The latest interpretation of the identity—or fictitiousness—of *Spenser's Rosalind* is contributed by Margaret Galway to *T.L.S.* (19 July): 'Rosalind' is not one lady but many; the name was intended to cover all the ladies, from the Queen downwards, whom

¹ *Edmund Spenser: The Works. The Minor Poems, Vol. 2*, ed. by Charles Grosvenor Osgood and Henry Gibbons Lotspeich, assisted by Dorothy E. Mason. Johns Hopkins Press and O.U.P. pp. xii + 745. 48s.

Spenser might be supposed to wish to address. Miss Galway finds ingenious anagrams in the name.

Paul E. Maclane is seeking to identify characters in *The Shepherdes Calender*. In *Diggon Davie Again* (*J.E.G.P.*, April) he offers supplementary evidence to support the view advanced by V. B. Hulbert (*J.E.G.P.*, July 1942) that 'Diggon Davie' is Richard Davies, Bishop of St. David's. Maclane emphasizes Davies's connexion with the circle of John Young, Bishop of Rochester, whose household Spenser entered in 1578.

In *Spenser's Morrell and Thomalin* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.) Maclane accepts the view that 'Morrell' is John Aylmer, Bishop of London, and adduces new reasons. 'Thomalin' he would not look for among the Puritan divines. This would have been inappropriate in a poem—the July eclogue—celebrating the virtues of Archbishop Grindal who was not dear to the Puritans. He suggests that Spenser probably had Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Lincoln, in mind.

W. L. Renwick's British Academy Lecture on *The Faerie Queene*² can best be described as a meditation on how the modern man can read the Elizabethan poem, the work of one of those 'who have recorded some bearings and soundings for themselves and their generation', and how he can still find sustenance in this work that ranges freely 'between formal philosophy, story-telling, and incantation'.

Sverre Arestad believes that confusions have arisen about the interpretation of *The Faerie Queene* from a failure to realize just how precisely Spenser used the word 'Faery'. In *Spenser's 'Faery' and 'Fairy'* (*M.L.Q.*, March) he argues that Spenser used his adjective to mean both *human* and *fairy* (i.e. involving supernatural origin), and not in this latter sense exclusively. Failure to discriminate between the two senses has, he continues, led to unjustifiable views about the scope of the poem, which is in no sense concerned with the presentation of a 'fairy land'. Spenser's *Faery Land* is plainly and absolutely Elizabethan England, presented in

² *The Faerie Queene*, by W. L. Renwick. Warton Lecture on English Poetry. O.U.P. for the British Academy, pp. 15. 3s. 6d.

terms of a vast structure of moral allegory; the 'fairy' element is one of the ways in which this allegory is given body.

Spenser's 'Vaine Delight' by Richard Hasker, in *M.L.N.* (May) is a note on the current ideas about the sexual intercourse of spirits to which the episode of the false Una and the false Squire should, in the author's opinion, be attached.

In re-examining the episode (*F.Q.*, Bk. IV) of *Belpheobe's Misdeeming of Timias* (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.) Allan H. Gilbert is dealing with wider issues than the import of a single moment in the poem. He is concerned with the proper limits of the historical-political interpretation of the poem, and takes this episode as a typical instance, for it has been commonly accepted that Timias is Raleigh, Amoret Elizabeth Throgmorton whom he secretly married, Belpheobe the Queen herself and her anger the Queen's anger at this marriage. The aim of Gilbert's reconsideration of these identifications is to show in what a very limited sense they can be made. His main general point is that though Spenser wrote with more than one purpose, yet his *Faerie Queene* is still primarily a romance of Chivalry whose allegories are carried by narrative and action; that the primacy of this feature of the poem must never be obscured; that 'we can for the most part be confident that whatever puzzles cryptographers is to be explained as romance of chivalry rather than as history'. So Timias, however like or unlike Raleigh he may be, is always a chivalric hero—like Lancelot who was also misjudged by his lady.

In front of this year's work on Elizabethan poetry stands Rosamond Tuve's book *Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery*.³ The book is not a hurdle that the novice can take in his stride. It is difficult to read and difficult to digest. Miss Tuve's prose has eventually a blurred or opaque quality that too frequently defeats concentration. And then she is doing so many things at once—though perhaps this was difficult to avoid. Miss Tuve has in hand, in fact, not only an elaborate inquiry into Elizabethan and Metaphysical imagery, but into the imagery of twentieth-century verse and into the nature of poetic imagery in general, an attempt to

³ *Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery*, by Rosamond Tuve. Chicago Univ. Press and C.U.P. pp. xii + 442. 33s.

construct a theory or rationale of Elizabethan and Jacobean imagery, and a critique of contemporary ways of reading that poetry.

Miss Tuve's inquiry—and polemic—begins from a protest against certain contemporary notions and historical interpretations: that the main function of the poetic image is 'the accurate conveying of the sensuous qualities of experience'; that the Metaphysicals are to be preferred 'on grounds of greater adequacy of later imagery'; that Elizabethan poets liked 'merely decorative' imagery; that a poetic revolution divides Elizabethans from Metaphysicals. In denying an Elizabethan predilection for the 'decorative', Miss Tuve is in line with, for example, the contemporary willingness (as opposed to the Romantic interpretations) to allow to allegory its seriousness; to admit, that is, that the Elizabethans generally meant something when they wrote; and that didacticism does not necessarily preclude poetic merit. A serious Elizabethan poet did not put an image into a poem simply because it sounded well. It had a meaning. Miss Tuve defends the meaningfulness of Elizabethan imagery in terms of *intention*; and intention defined in a particular way. The image is a unit in a discourse, playing its part in a pattern by which one man can change another man's mind. The function of the image is structural not decorative. Its nature, its direction are governed by the intention to change a man's mind in a certain way at a certain moment.

Her study reposes on and raises to a new level investigations into Renaissance rhetoric which have interested scholars—mainly American scholars—for some time past. It is her mastery of this body of writing that is so remarkable. Never does one get the impression that a text has been quickly conned and summarized or reduced to card-index entries so that it can be brought in a few weeks later to support a thesis. Clearly for Miss Tuve the world of these rhetorics and logics has become a world that has its own vitality and exists in its own right, whose categories can naturally and without sense of strain be applied to poem or image. This kind of mastery has its dangers: and perhaps Miss Tuve does not get off without paying. The world may become too complete, too independent, too exclusive, too exigent: too much may be subsumed under its categories. And perhaps Miss Tuve's statement (and acceptance?) of the Elizabethan theory of the image as a structural unit in a suasive discourse controlled by given laws of

discourse does require a more developed theory of the part played in the composition of a poem by 'the wish to write a poem' or of the control exercised over the poet by 'the possible kinds of poem that can be written' than Miss Tuve gives us. The word 'Drama' is not to be found in her index.

Robert Allott published in his *England's Parnassus* (1600) a fragmentary poem beginning 'I walked along a stream for pureness rare' which he attributed to Marlowe. This attribution has received almost universal acceptance from Marlowe scholars. John Crow, however, announces in *T.L.S.* (4 Jan.) that he has found the poem from which these stanzas are taken in a rare volume by Gervase Markham, *Devoreux. Vertues teares for the losse of the most christian King Henry . . . and the untimely death of the most noble and heroicall gentleman, Walter Devoreux*, etc. (1597): verses attributed to a mysterious French poetess, which Markham claims to have translated 'paraphrastically'. This volume Crawford had not seen when he prepared his edition of *England's Parnassus*. In spite of the quality of the 'Marlowe' stanzas Crow finds that the poem as a whole is simply 'a dull and overlong example of sub-Spenserian writing'.

A week later (11 Jan.) Peter Davies wrote to the same periodical suggesting that the source of the stanzas quoted by Crow is in a fourth-century Latin poem, Tiberianus' *Amnis ibat inter arva* etc. On 18 January Crow wrote again to emend some minor errors in his article; and F. S. Boas, accepting this discovery, suggested that the initial error may have been due to Allott's printer (for Allott correctly attributed other quotations from the poem to Markham), especially if Allott had written 'I Mar.' This explanation, however, was not acceptable to R. G. Howarth who (5 July) held that it was insufficient and suggested that Allott may indeed have been struck by the 'Marlovian' quality of the lines. On 21 June E. K. Kuhl contributed a note suggesting that some of Allott's 'misquotations' from the Devereux poem may have been deliberate and produced for political reasons. His idea is that Markham's poem, though nominally about Walter Devereux, is really addressed to his more famous brother Robert, Earl of Essex; and that it is to be connected with Essex's political situation.

Volume VIII of the Oxford *Ben Jonson* calls for notice here as it

contains the poems and the prose works, but for notice only, as the edition of which it is an important part, and the principles on which it is prepared are so familiar to us,⁴ and have received their due recognition in earlier volumes of *Y.W.* As well as the verse collections the editors include Jonson's 'ungathered verse' and poems ascribed to Jonson but rejected by them. The 'prose works' are the *English Grammar* and *The Discoveries* and the *Leges Conviviales*. There is also a collection of Jonson's inscriptions.

Some annotations on various poets follow. In *Notes on Chapman* (*N. & Q.*, 15 Feb.) R. G. Howarth comments on extracts from *England's Parnassus* attributed to Chapman. No. 2054 begins with lines adapted from Tamburlaine's address to Zenocrate (Part I, V, ii) which prompts the suggestion that the whole passage is Marlowe's. No. 2055 may have been intended as a blank verse sonnet. Howarth argues too that the phrase *lucidius olim* appended to Chapman's *A Coronet for his Mistress Philosophie* carries out the meaning of the dedication to Royden which prefaces the collection; he also has a note on two mysterious lines which Tennyson attributed to Chapman but which are not to be found in that poet's works.

In the same periodical (*N. & Q.*, 4 Oct.) W. J. Carlton draws attention to commendatory verses signed *N.B.* in Edmund Willis's *Abreuiation of Writing by Character* (1618). The suggestion is that they are by Nicholas Breton.

B. T. Stewart's *A Note on Spenser and Phineas Fletcher* (*P.Q.*, Jan.) offers *Faerie Queene* II, xii, 77-8 as the source of Daphnis's description of his lady in the seventh of Fletcher's *Piscatorie Eclogues*.

The crowded title of Allan H. Gilbert's *Nevizanus, Ariosto, Florio, Harington and Drummond* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.) shows the fate of a poem by Johannes Nevizanus: versions are in Florio's *Second Frutes*; Harington translates it in his sixteenth epigram and Drummond renders it in his *Beauties Idea*.

Charles C. Bell in *Edward Fairfax, a Natural Son* (*M.L.N.*, Jan.) brings forward new genealogical evidence to show that the translator of Tasso was in fact illegitimate. The same author's *A History*

⁴ *Ben Jonson, Vol. VIII, The Poems, The Prose Works*, ed. by C. H. Herford, Percy and Evelyn Simpson. O.U.P. pp. xviii+674. 35s.

of *Fairfax Criticism* (P.M.L.A., Sept.) is a sketch of Fairfax's reputation down to the nineteenth century.

Two papers have appeared which treat of Sidney's attitude to 'Romantic Love'. Kenneth T. Rowe's monograph takes us closer to the heart of the *Arcadia* than its title might suggest.⁵ It is a study, in relation to the thought and practice of his age, of Sidney's ethical conceptions as they are dramatized in the great climax of the *Arcadia*, the trial of Pyrocles and Musidorus before Evarchus. Rowe holds that the *Arcadia* ends in an 'ethical confusion' which reflects a similar confusion in opinion and behaviour in Sidney's age. This episode embodies a conflict between two principles, romantic love and parental authority, or romantic love as an individual virtue and paternal authority seen as an aspect of the ideal 'Governor' and the ideal social order. Rowe cannot accept attempts to blur the dilemma by arguing that in fact the young men have sinned against a code of ethics by yielding to passion. He insists that Sidney presents them as ideal heroes of a new code of values to which love, as the perfection of the individual, is intrinsic. But Evarchus too is an ideal figure conceived in the light of classical and contemporary ethics; he is the 'Governor' who represents the Aristotelian virtues of justice and magnanimity, and he speaks for that view which sees the primacy of parental authority and the subordination of individual desire in marriage to social ends as essential elements of a state conceived as an ordered hierarchy. Rowe briefly shows how Sidney's presentation of love and of the 'Governor' is related to contemporary writing; and there is a short consideration of love and marriage in Elizabethan society. The confusion of ideals was not of Sidney's making, Rowe holds, but a projection of what happened when a new evaluation of love met traditional views of the right behaviour of father and son as members of a social group. Nor does Rowe think that the confusion he sees in the *Arcadia* is a fault; on the contrary, he finds a virtue in the sympathy and insight with which Sidney mirrors this conflict of ideals.

E. Pettet's article on *Sidney and the Cult of Romantic Love in English* (Summer) is slighter. He writes on *Astrophel and Stella* as

⁵ *Romantic Love and Parental Authority in Sidney's 'Arcadia'*, by Kenneth Thorpe Rowe. Univ. of Michigan Press. pp. 58. \$1.00.

falling within this traditional conception of 'Romantic Love' that stretches from Chaucer to the Elizabethans. Pettet doubts whether Sidney accepts attempts made in his time to relate 'Romantic Love' to marriage and love of woman to love of God. He believes that Sidney did not accept the Neo-Platonic bases of such attempts and that he was too aware of the physical basis of love to accept easily a sometimes facile insistence that love for woman can be translated into spiritual terms. Pettet believes too that certain stylistic features of the sonnets—'wit-writing', homely realism, a kind of dramatic flexibility and vigour—are out of keeping with the fundamental romantic attitude.

The Huntington Library possesses the MS. of *Sidney's Letter to the Camerarii*, the sons of the distinguished German, Joachim Camerarius, humanist and Protestant. It is in Latin, is dated 1578, and deals with the publication of Joachim's works. Sidney tells what he has done and will do to help to get the unpublished works issued and mentions his special interest in Camerarius's studies on history and politics. This letter is published by A. Philip McMahon in *P.M.L.A.* (March), in a more accurate text than Feuillerat's. McMahon also fills in the background of the episode. In his journeys abroad Sidney came into touch with Protestant scholars who belonged to the circle of the Camerarius family—and the sons of Joachim were themselves scholars. Philippus Camerarius records a talk he had with Sidney when Sidney was in Prague in 1577 on an embassy to the Emperor. Books by Camerarius on the subjects that interested Sidney were in fact published in the years after 1578, and by the firm of Andreas Wechel, the great Protestant printer whom Sidney had known well.

Helen Andrews Kahin's *Jane Anger and John Lyly (M.L.Q., March)* is a note on a pamphlet published in 1589 by a certain Jane Anger. It is apparently a reply to attacks on women in a recently published work. Miss Kahin suggests that this was *Euphues his Censure*, etc., a warning against women, published in 1587.

A Note on Thomas Nashe and 'Style' in English (Spring) is a brief examination by E. D. Mackerness of what he takes to be intentions and effects in Nashe's prose and a defence of his style

against those who condemn it by judging it in the light of standards derived from the 'polite prose' of the eighteenth century and later.

A note by J. O. Bartley on *Harington and Saint Basil* (M.L.R., April) establishes that Harington in the *Briefve Apologie of Poetrie* prefixed to his *Orlando Furioso* repeats arguments in defence of poetry used by St. Basil in his *As adolescentes quomodo possint ex gentilium libris fructum capere*, and indeed translates passages from it.

Attention has been called above (see Chapter VI, p. 107) to the earlier figures noted by J. W. H. Atkins in his *English Literary Criticism: the Renaissance*. In the chapters that follow he gives accounts of the critical writings that are more generally familiar, ranging from Sidney and Gascoigne to Jonson and Milton. These accounts are useful and comprehensive if not remarkably new. In his summing-up Atkins tends to minimize the influence of Italy on English criticism in this period.

The *Palmerin* romances either in the original or in their English translations are little more than names to most Elizabethan scholars. Yet in their day their European popularity was immense: and they, after *Amadis of Gaul*, constitute the great contribution of the Iberian peninsula to the literature of chivalric romance: and a contribution that came late; for the *Palmerin* romances belong to the sixteenth century, and are the fruit of a revival of the old traditions. To write a brief account of *The 'Palmerin' Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction*⁶ was a good idea; and Mary Patchell's unpretentious book is genuinely useful, both in providing an account of the Romances themselves—the larger part of the book is taken up with this—their history, subject-matter and technique, and of their appearance in England. The *Palmerin* romances were not the only specimens of this type to appear in England; but they are the largest block. Munday translated them—certainly they were wanted, for Munday's job was to supply just this. The sophisticated dramatists of the early seventeenth century might laugh at the Spanish romances. But such works—translations or new romances from the same pot—were cherished by the.

⁶ *The 'Palmerin' Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction*, by Mary Patchell. Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. viii + 157. \$2.50.

middle-class reader. Among them are the prolific productions of Emanuel Forde whose popular fictions are certainly indebted to the Spanish models. And Miss Patchell finds other romancers—Robert Parry, Christopher Middleton,⁷ Richard Johnson—writing in the same vein. She does not believe, however, that a case can be made out for the direct dependence of the *Arcadia* on the *Amadis*.

Robert Ashley (1565–1641), lawyer and man of letters, has hitherto been known only as a translator of various French, Spanish and Italian works, of which the most interesting is perhaps his version of Le Roy's *Of the Interchangeable Course or Variety of Things in the Whole World*. He now appears as the author of a small treatise *Of Honour*,⁷ written perhaps between 1596 and 1603. It was dedicated to Sir Thomas Egerton, was preserved among the MSS. of the Ellesmere family, passed to the Huntington Library and has now been edited by Virgil B. Heltzel. It is an agreeable specimen of a kind of writing commoner in Italy than in England, the short discourse on a moral question. The subject too, as the editor notes, is one which interested the Italians. And the basis of Aristotelian ethics and the use of the classical examples which we find in this essay are common form in such Italian treatises. Heltzel has found no direct source for Ashley's work, but in a judicious commentary he indicates sources and parallels for Ashley's ideas, which show how faithfully Ashley walked within a familiar tradition. For his brief but adequate Introduction Heltzel draws on a MS. autobiography by Ashley now in the British Museum. This Introduction was first published in *H.L.Q.* (Aug.), as *Robert Ashley: Elizabethan Man of Letters*.

Most of us have been content to know that the sermons of Henry Smith were enormously popular, but John L. Lievsay has tried to find out why '*Silver-tongued Smith*', *Paragon of Elizabethan Preachers* enjoyed this esteem (*H.L.Q.*, Nov.). He considers that Smith's sermons have as their fundamental characteristic an appealing simplicity and clarity. They are not overloaded with learning, their structure is plain and straightforward, their language deliberately simple, pointed with homely phrases, proverbs

⁷ *Of Honour*. By Robert Ashley, ed. by Virgil B. Heltzel, San Marino. The Huntington Library. pp. 80. \$2.00.

and illustrations aimed at the ordinary man. Eloquent simplicity, then, and a palpable sincerity and a lack of affectation must have recommended these discourses to their hearers.

The title of Phillip Shaw's article, *The Position of Thomas Dekker in Jacobean Prison Literature* in *P.M.L.A.* (June), hardly indicates the scope of his study, which is the definition and history of a literary genre in the reign of James I, studied through the contribution of the most notable writer in this kind. Shaw's article is systematic and substantial, and little more can be given here than some idea of what ground he covers. The genre is 'prison literature', works, that is, describing conditions in any of London's fourteen prisons. Dekker was the first important writer to choose such subjects. He also established the models on which this writing is fashioned—'rogue exposures, dramatic settings, reformatory essays, and "characters"'. Shaw takes each of Dekker's works in this field, which cover a period of twenty years, examining not only the contents but the problems of chronology, which are by no means settled. Dekker's work is related to that of other writers, and a sketch of the social background of the genre—including those legal dispositions that controlled the prisons—is offered. Shaw also charts the movement of interests and aims visible in these grimy pamphlets.

The last work that Samuel Daniel planned was a history of England from the earliest times to the Tudors. The project was never completed: Daniel's *History of England* as we have it runs to the end of the reign of Edward III. This is certainly a little read book, and it is to some of its neglected merits that May McKisack calls our attention in *Samuel Daniel as Historian* (*R.E.S.*, July). Daniel was writing for the general reader and made no claim to original investigations. But his work is soundly based on the English Chronicles made available by the Elizabethan antiquaries and on certain MS. sources at hand in Cotton's library. Independence of judgement, the rejection of myths, freedom from contemporary prejudices—these are merits in Daniel. Miss McKisack instances his notable refusal to condemn the Middle Ages as a bleak interregnum between the fall of Rome and the rise of humanism.

J. Milton French has prepared for publication the *Bibliography*

of the *Theophrastan Character in English*⁸ on which the late C. N. Greenough had worked for many years. The result is an imposing but at the same time rather disturbing volume. The bibliography is arranged chronologically; it begins with 1495 and Bartolomeus Anglicus's *De Proprietatibus Rerum*; the last modern work noted is a 1937 reprint of Leslie Stephen's *Sketches from Cambridge* (1867). What disturbs is the plan—or rather the difficulty of discovering what are the *limits* of the definition of the Character on which the book rests! The title page adds 'with several portrait characters'; and we read in the Introduction that 'in the bibliography Mr. Greenough seems to have decided to include not only all the indubitable characters but also many sketches that lie somewhere on the border line between the character and other literary forms'. The trouble is that once one moves away from the strict definition of the Theophrastan 'Character', as understood by students of, particularly, Jacobean literature, the Character lies on the borderline of all too many literary forms for it to be easily isolated. The outlines waver and the shape is lost. Much learning and great patience have gone to the making of this list. One wonders, however, whether it will not be most useful as a list—the subject index is admirable—of character types treated by English writers.

Greenough had intended to write a history of the Character. After his death his notes, chiefly bibliographical, were handed over to Benjamin Boyce who used them in the preparation of his book, *The Theophrastan Character in England to 1642*.⁹ Boyce notes that whereas Greenough's definition of the genre 'was inclusive and broad' his own has been 'exclusive and analytical' and that he has 'usually related things to the model of Theophrastus and to the three best English Character-writers, Hall, Overbury, and Earle'. Boyce has certainly produced the best general book on the English Theophrastan Character itself and of the relations of the kind to the discussions of the rhetoricians, from antiquity to the seventeenth century: for not only Theophrastus's collection

⁸ *A Bibliography of the Theophrastan Character in English, with Several Portrait Characters*, by Chester Noyes Greenough; prepared for publication by J. Milton French. Harvard Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xii + 347. 55s.

⁹ *The Theophrastan Character in England to 1642*, by Benjamin Boyce, with the assistance of Notes by Chester Noyes Greenough. Harvard Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. ix + 317. 27s. 6d.

but the precepts of the rhetoricians and the practice of Terence were important for our writers. The centre of Boyce's work is naturally his treatment of Hall, Overbury and Earle, which is sound, vivacious and readable. An important feature is the awareness Boyce, while holding firmly to his definition, shows of the fluidity of the kind. He discusses at some length the 'native background'—the ground prepared to receive the lessons of the classical writer, and the relations of the Character with Essay and Sermon, Biography and drama.

L.R.M. Strachan (*N. & Q.*, 12 July) finds a source for a reference of Bacon's to *Zanger the Son of Solymán* in Busbecq's *Legationes Turcicae Epistolae*, IV (1589). Theodore A. Stroud suggests in *Ben Jonson and Father Thomas Wright* (*E.L.H.*, Dec.) that the priest who visited Ben Jonson in prison and converted him to the Church of Rome was Father Thomas Wright, the English Jesuit, author of *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* for which Jonson wrote a dedicatory sonnet. Stroud traces Wright's interesting career in England.

In *P.Q.* (Jan.) Grover Smith argues for *The Influence of Sir John Hayward and of Joshua Sylvester upon William Drummond's 'Cypresse Grove'*. He believes that Hayward's *Sanctuarie of a Troubled Soule* and Sylvester's *Memorials of Mortalitie* contributed both ideas and words to Drummond's treatise. In the same journal (Jan.) John S. Weld writes on W. Bettie's *Titana and Theseus* (1608) which, as he says, is a 'little-known Euphuistic novel distinguished only by the extent and nature of its borrowings from other works'. Weld demonstrates considerable debts to Greene's *Pandosto* and Golding's *Ovid*, and passing allusions to others works by Greene, and to Shakespeare.

We may begin the consideration of writings on general themes with three articles on various aspects of the impact of Italian literature and thought in England—and Scotland. Two articles appeared in *Italian Studies*, 1946, but escaped notice last year. John Purves's close and detailed paper on *The 'Abbregeement of Roland Furious' by John Stewart of Baldyneis, and the early knowledge of Ariosto in England* gives an account of the version of Ariosto produced under that title in the fifteen-eighties by this

member of the circle round James VI that was so busy with poetical experiments, and attempts to render the masterpieces of modern European poetry for a Scots audience. Stewart's poem is 'a cento or pastiche' from Ariosto constructed round certain episodes in the *Orlando Furioso*, especially those where Orlando and Angelica appear. Purves places this not contemptible essay within the history of the early versions of Ariosto in England, and in France; for it was through France that the Italian Renaissance came to Scotland, and Stewart is indebted to French models, notably to Desportes' *Imitations de l'Arioste*.

F. P. Wilson contributes *A Supplement to Toynbee's 'Dante in English Literature'*, that is a collection of references to Dante between the years 1519 and 1610 that are not included in Toynbee's standard work. We may note two points of special interest: the first specimen of the Italian text of Dante printed in England and the first quotation of any length from the Italian text of the *Commedia* are in James Sanford's translation (1573) of Guicciardini's *L'Hore di Ricreatione*; the first representation of Dante's head appears in 1610, in *Wit's Laberynth*, a translation of Andrea Ghisi's parlour game, *Il Laberintho del Clarissimo Signor Andrea Ghisi* (1607).

Vincent Luciani in his *Bacon and Guicciardini (P.M.L.A., March)* attempts to trace the influence of the great Florentine historian on the English philosopher and historian. Guicciardini was, he holds, of all the modern historians, the one whose principles and practice Bacon most admired. He sets out Bacon's references to the *Storia d'Italia* and his use of it in many and sometimes unexpected places. This history served Bacon as a storehouse of political heroes. And when Bacon came to write his own *History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh* he not only found his models for method in Florentine historiography—this had already been established—but chose, Luciani argues, Guicciardini rather than Machiavelli as his master: a master who taught him that history is politics, how to use the invented speech and how to write analyses of character. An article by the same author on *Bacon and Machiavelli (Italica, XXIV)* has not come to hand.

The study of English historiography in the sixteenth century is

at the moment rather fashionable. This year Leonard F. Dean attempts a brief but systematic survey of *Tudor Theories of History Writing*.¹⁰ He wishes to state the 'conventional' view of the nature and function of history in the first half of the century and then to show how this view had been discussed and modified by 1625. The conventional view is, roughly, that which recent studies of Shakespeare's history plays has made familiar to us. Criticisms of it are not so well known. Dean notes awareness on the part of various writers of the awkward problems implicit in the notion that history is the record of God's providence and of vice and virtue finding their rewards: the problem of evil, the problem of why virtue does not always win; the problem of causation that rises out of such considerations. Dean also notes discussions about method and the use of sources. Finally he analyses Raleigh's *History of the World* which he finds to be a mixed and transitional work. Dean's documents are for the most part translations from foreign writers—Patrizzi, Concio, Bodin, Grynaeus. He has perhaps failed to draw the right conclusions from this clear fact.

Not even the slightest attempt can be made to summarize Frances Yates's article on *Elizabeth as Astraea* (*J.W.C.I.*, x). It is a lengthy, erudite, exhaustive study in Elizabethan symbolism, taken at its centre, the symbolism that surrounds the Queen herself. What exactly did contemporaries understand when Elizabeth was referred to, as she so frequently was, as *Astraea*? A symbol can have many meanings; and Miss Yates's investigation carries her into many fields. Her evidence is drawn from the visual arts as well as from literature, from theology as well as from politics and history. We may note some of the subjects treated: the history of the interpretation of the myth of Astraea from antiquity through the fathers and the Middle Ages to the Renaissance; the notion of 'imperialism'—that is of the English monarch as heir to the Empire—with fascinating studies of Jewel and Fox (and, among other things, of the use of Dante in this context); the influence of the symbolism of the Emperor Charles V on Elizabeth's; the use made of Astraea by the writers, including Spenser and Shakespeare; the religious connotations of the symbol. The attempt is bold and the result fruitful—not only for the light thrown on unexpected

¹⁰ *Tudor Theories of History Writing*, by Leonard F. Dean. Univ. of Michigan Press. pp. 24. \$0.50.

places and unexplored ways of Elizabethan thought and for the connexions established between apparently diverse phenomena and fields, but for the questions suggested about the nature of Elizabethan imagery and the methods to be adopted for its study. The risks are obvious: the greatest is that of 'over-interpretation' and of making rigid and schematic something that existed, by its nature, as *nuance*: in a cloud of possible meanings. This example of a method of studying Elizabethan imagery cannot be neglected.

Miss Yates's article throws into relief the boldness of Joshua McLennen's attempt to compress a statement *On the Meaning and Function of Allegory in the English Renaissance*¹¹ into thirty-eight pages. Nor can it be said that the boldness is justified by the result. Suggestive however is the cursory sketch of 'Allegory and the study of Scripture'. This is a subject that deserves to be fully studied.

Attention has been drawn above (see Chapter VI, p. 111) to the article in *H.L.Q.* (May) by Paul H. Kocher on *The Physician as Atheist in Elizabethan England*. Doubts about the piety of physicians were not new. Kocher discusses why they were entertained, and the recurrent attacks on the physician based on them. The physician's authorities were, after all, pagan—Galen's doubts about the immortality of the soul were notorious—or, worse, Arabs and Jews. Astrology still entered into medical practice, and the domain of medicine easily shaded off into that of magic. The physician's Aristotelianism was suspect; and here we come to the root of the matter: the conviction that the physician tended to ignore God and the direct workings of God on man and to proceed on naturalistic assumptions. Such doubts were not allayed by quarrels within the fraternity, notably that about Paracelsus, which brought these dangerous issues into the open. Medicine was in fact going the way of contemporary science: God was receding. Awareness of this lay behind the cries of atheist hurled at the physician.

Some minor items follow. In *John Dee as Raleigh's 'Conjuror'* (*H.L.Q.*, Aug.) E. A. Strathmann raises the question—a phrase of Dee's suggests it—that Dee and not Thomas Harriot was in Robert

¹¹ *On the Meaning and Function of Allegory in the English Renaissance*, by Joshua McLennen. Univ. of Michigan Press. pp. 38. \$0.75.

Parson's mind when he made his famous reference to a 'conjurator' in his attack on Raleigh and his 'school of atheism'.

D. Gwyther Moore contributes a note on *Bacon's Monument* in the Church of St. Michael's, St. Albans, to *N. & Q.* (9 Aug.). He thinks that the sculptor was Thomas Stanton. R. L. Eagle writes (4 Oct.) to refute a statement made by Moore. Carroll Camden's *Elizabethan Chiromancy* (*M.L.N.*, Jan.) is a note on the theory and practice of this pseudo science.

X

THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD: POETRY AND PROSE

(II) THE EARLIER STUART AGE AND THE COMMONWEALTH

By L. C. MARTIN

THE usual plan is followed of noticing the work on Milton after that on other poets and prose-writers has been presented.

In *M.L.Q.* (Dec.) Michael F. Moloney writes on *John Donne and the Jesuits*, seeking to explain the antipathy to the Jesuits shown by Donne in the earlier years of his life. Various reasons, personal and political, are suggested. It is pointed out that Donne kept his sympathy for the oppressed English Catholics.

In *P.M.L.A.* (Dec.) Donald R. Roberts expounds his belief that *The Death Wish of John Donne* (i.e. Donne's oft-expressed desire for death) is not merely conventional but reflects a real and persistent personal craving which affected his thought and writings in more than the obvious ways; and in the light of this view Roberts considers certain features of the poet's life and works which, it is suggested, have not been satisfactorily explained hitherto.

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Louis L. Martz, in *E.L.H.* (Dec.) under heading *John Donne in Meditation: 'The Anniversaries'*, considers the design of those two poems with reference to the combination in each of the Petrarchan tradition with the methods of religious meditation fostered in the Counter-Reformation. The finding is that the poems differ in structure, imagery, and value: that the first anniversary is 'successful only in brilliant patches'; but that the second, 'despite some flaws', is as a whole 'one of the great religious poems of the seventeenth century'.

Donne's Phoenix (as in the 'Marriage Song', 1613) is discussed by Don Cameron Allen in *M.L.N.* (May). Donne thinks 'The Arke did not contain' it, because he has rejected the patristic be-

lief that it existed and therefore must have been among the animals which Noah saved.

By a coincidence there are two articles covering much the same ground: *John Donne and Virginia* in *P.Q.* (April), by Robert L. Hickey, and *John Donne and the Virginia Company* in *E.L.H.* (June), by Stanley Johnson. In each the subject is the historical background of the sermon preached by Donne on 13 November 1622. Donne had long been interested in the Company, and was invited to give this sermon a few months after the massacre of English settlers had made some people doubt the possibility of converting the Indians to Christianity. Donne ranges himself with those who refused to despair and who thought the first duty of the Company remained the saving of heathen souls and the advancement of God's rule on earth. Hickey considers the commendatory poem attributed to 'Io: Done' in John Smith's *History of Virginia*, and takes it to be authentic. But the style is not altogether favourable to that view.

Under heading *Donne and Herbert of Cherbury: an Exchange of Verses*, Don A. Keister in *M.L.Q.* (Dec.) gives his reasons for supposing that Herbert's satire 'The State progress of Ill' was sent to Donne, whose verses 'to Sr. Edward Herbert at Julyers' have a somewhat similar drift.

The same writer in *M.L.N.* (June) refers to a document in the P.R.O. (Inquisitions post Mortem), published in the *Montgomery Collections*, which seems to settle *The Birth Date of Lord Herbert of Cherbury*: 3 March 1585.

Malcolm M. Ross writes in *U.T.Q.* (Jan.) on *George Herbert and the Humanist Tradition*, concentrating on the evidence he finds in Herbert's poetry that the Elizabethan synthesis of worldly and other-worldly values was breaking down. 'Herbert's work reveals a significant interaction between the intellectual tradition as such and the disturbing pressures of Caroline society.' Herbert modifies the tradition by turning from the problems of the world outside him to an inner world of devotion and reflection, where he maintains a precarious balance of 'awareness and withdrawal'.

In *R.E.S.* (Jan.) A. F. Allison discusses *Some Influences in Crashaw's Poem 'On a Prayer Booke Sent to Mrs. M.R.'*, chiefly

showing how much Crashaw was here indebted to St. Teresa's *El Castillo Interior* and its description of the mystical life. The article also throws some fresh light on Crashaw's use of sensuous language in connexion with spiritual experiences, as when he turns phrases in Carew's 'A Rapture' to his religious purpose.

When Miss G. E. F.⁴ Morgan died in 1939 she left still in disorder the large amount of material relating to Henry Vaughan which she and Miss L. I. Guiney had gathered over a period of many years; and it was fortunately decided to ask the late F. E. Hutchinson to see what could be done with it. He found that such a heterogeneous collection could not all be brought into a satisfactory shape, and that the only practicable course was to write a book of his own, combining what was of value in the legacy with the numerous results of his own investigations. He was thus able to produce the definitive biography,¹ a comprehensive and well-wrought account. Much remains unknown about Vaughan's life and personality and some of the details which are here recorded are not of great importance. The 'interpretation' of Vaughan's poetry leaves something still to be done. But there is much highly useful information not to be found elsewhere and Hutchinson's last service to scholarship was very far from being his least. There is cause for satisfaction that he was able to finish it and to know that it was appreciated.

Philip M. Cheek writes fully in *S. in Ph.* (Jan.) on *The Latin Element in Henry Vaughan*, assembling the evidence in Vaughan's works and elsewhere that he was learned in Latin and its writers, and respected for this by his contemporaries; and that his formal education in Latin was considerable. Recent studies have shown that the learning of seventeenth-century men of letters was not always as first-hand and extensive as it may look, but there are solid grounds for thinking that Vaughan acquired what Hutchinson described as a 'considerable intimacy with the Latin classics', and that he was widely read also in medieval and Renaissance Latin literature.

In *R.E.S.* (April) Richard H. Walters adds to knowledge about the relations between *Henry Vaughan and the Alchemists*, showing

¹ *Henry Vaughan: A Life and Interpretation*, by F. E. Hutchinson. O.U.P. pp. xii + 260. 15s.

how Vaughan was influenced by their basic ideas concerning the analogy of transmutation and regeneration, the Creator and the Soul of the World, the Divine Spark, and the contrast between nature and man. Many passages in Vaughan's poetry take on a fresh significance and interest in the light of such information and parallels as are here adduced.

Sir Edward Marsh in *T.L.S.* (19 July) offers conjectural emendations for Vaughan's 'Palm-Sunday', 1.13 and 'The Storm', 1.1.

In *M.L.Q.* (Sept. and Dec.) there is a substantial study by Allan H. Gilbert of *Thomas Traherne as Artist*. The writer asks for a more imaginative understanding of certain passages in the poems which have been interpreted literally as aids to biography, and also stresses the metaphorical element in Traherne's reflections on childhood. He considers the different strands and changing intentions discernible in the *Centuries*, and he goes afresh into the relationship between the MSS. of the poems, suggesting that the Burney MS. gives 'the incomplete work of Thomas rather than the ill-advised corrections of Philip'.

In *M.L.N.* (Nov.) Frances L. Colby, under heading *Thomas Traherne and Henry More*, quotes from Traherne's *Commonplace Book* an entry which in thought and phrasing is very close to a passage in More's *Divine Dialogues* (1668), and which thus adds to the evidence that Traherne was indebted for some of his ideas to the Cambridge Platonists.

A small volume by W. L. Doughty² introduces several philosophical or religious poets of this time to the 'general reader'. The studies are of Vaughan, Quarles, Crashaw, Sir John Davies, Henry More, and Traherne, whose thought has more attention than their art. The writer's evident interest in his subjects and his craft of exposition may well persuade others to desire the better acquaintance of these 'lesser-known' poets.

In *M.L.N.* (Jan.) Allan H. Gilbert, under heading *Jonson and Drummond or Gil on the King's Senses*, refers to the poem 'For the Kinge' recently claimed for Alexander Gil and earlier for Drummond. Gilbert notes similarities between the poem and

² *Studies in Religious Poetry of the Seventeenth Century*, by W. L. Doughty (1946). The Epworth Press. pp. xiv + 200. 7s. 6d.

Patrico's song in Jonson's *Gypsies Metamorphos'd* and asks whether Jonson may have seen 'For the Kinge' at Hawthornden.

Alan Herrick observes in *T.L.S.* (12 April) that the poem 'The Carver to his Mistress', which has found its way into editions of Thomas Carew, appears in *Diana* (1594), by Constable and others.

Willa M. Evans writes in *P.Q.* (Jan.) on *Lovelace's Concept of Prison Life* in 'The Vintage to the Dungeon' to refute the notion that the lines reflect the poet's actual experiences in jail (1642). The origin of the lines is traced to the prisoners' dance in Cartwright's *The Royall Slaue* (1636).

The same writer, in an article headed *Hobson Appears in Comic Song* (*P.Q.*, Oct.), introduces and comments upon the text of an anonymous song in dialogue between Charon and Hobson, beginning 'Charon come heither'. The MS. used is in the New York Public Library. There is another, Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 11608.

In *P.Q.* (July) *The Influence of Horace on Robert Herrick* is considered by Graydon W. Regenos, who offers an extensive range of parallels, and holds that Horace meant more to Herrick than either Martial or Catullus.

Thomas A. Kirby in *M.L.N.* (March) tries to identify the tavern referred to by Herrick in his lines to Ben Jonson as *The Triple Tun*, and thinks it was probably the Three Tuns, Bankside.

Pierre Legouis writes in *R.E.S.* (Jan.) on *Marvell and Massinger: A Source of 'The Definition of Love'*, indicating Marvell's probable indebtedness for some of his more famous lines to the conversation between Camiola and Bertoldo in *The Maid of Honour*, I, ii, 120 *seqq.* Of the word 'parallels', as used by Massinger, an explanation is offered by D. S. Bland (*ibid.*, July).

The first in the series of reprints undertaken by the Luttrell Society is an edition of Wye Saltonstall's 'booke of Characters'.³ This work in the Overburian tradition has not been hitherto available save in the very rare editions of 1631 and 1635, and it deserves the care which C. H. Wilkinson has given to its resuscitation. The introduction includes an account of Saltonstall's career and quality, and altogether the book not only makes attractive reading

³ *Picturae Loquentes*, by Wye Saltonstall. Oxford: Blackwell for the Luttrell Society (1946). pp. xv+79. Yearly subscription 25s.

but usefully adds to what is known about the *genre* it represents. It is, like its successors, a fine example of the printer's craft.

No. 3 in the same series offers the rare anonymous translation (here assigned to late 1659 or early 1660) of Rabelais' *Pantagrueline Prognostication*.⁴ The translation is preceded by some good-tempered satire on William Lilly, whose astrological prophecies were about this time very awkwardly revealing their fallibility. The editing is by F. P. Wilson, who gives all the relevant facts and nicely estimates the historical significance of the work.

Grover Smith's article (*P.Q.* Jan.) on *The Influence of Sir John Hayward and of Joshua Sylvester upon William Drummond's 'Cypresse Grove'* has been noticed above (Chap. IX, p. 172).

Jac. G. Riewald writes in *Eng. Stud.* (pp. 171-3) on *Sir Thomas Browne's Supposed Visit to the Continent* (in 1665), showing that the supposition has been based on a misunderstanding of a passage in the Preface to the Dutch translation of *Religio Medici* published in that year.

The unimpressive life and character of Sir Humphrey Mildmay (1592?-1666) would have been forgotten if he had not kept the diary preserved in the British Museum and now made the subject of a descriptive study by Philip L. Ralph.⁵ The method has been to give the substance of the record, avoiding its repetitions but using its words as far as possible; and to arrange the material into chapters. The result is a useful cross-section of English social life in the nineteen years which the diary covers. The story is well told and it throws many sidelights, unglamorous though they usually are, upon this troubled period. Evidently Sir Humphrey was not a very strong character, but he was honest with himself, comprehensive in his social interests, and unromantically faithful to the Royalist cause.

A good deal of fresh and various information is provided by the voluminous papers of Samuel Hartlib, which were missing since

⁴ *Pantagruel's Prognostication*. Oxford: Blackwell for the Luttrell Society. pp. xv+30.

⁵ *Sir Humphrey Mildmay: Royalist Gentleman. Glimpses of the English Scene, 1633-52*, by Philip Lee Ralph. New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press. pp. xi+245. \$4.50.

1667, until they were rediscovered in 1933. They were entrusted to G. H. Turnbull, author of a standard work on Hartlib (1920), and the result is a substantial volume of 'gleanings'.⁶ The material is arranged in three parts headed respectively Hartlib, Dury and Comenius. Hartlib was described by Evelyn as a 'master of innumerable curiosities' and the papers here sifted and quoted (some of them in full) will be of great value to students of English cultural life during the reign of Charles I and the Protectorate, especially the educational, religious, economic and political thought of the time.

The monumental labours of Wilbur C. Abbott and his helpers on the writing and speeches of Cromwell have now been ended in a fourth volume⁷ exceeding any of its predecessors in compass (see *Y.W.*, xxi, 165-6 and xxvi, 136-7). It represents the period October 1655 to the death of Cromwell on 3 September 1658. The method of arranging the material within the framework of a fresh account of the life is continued; and the present volume shows among other things how distasteful the Protector's rule was at this time and how the system had begun to break down before his death. As in Vol. III much is drawn from the reports of foreign diplomatic agents; and Cromwell is thus seen in a rather different light from that provided by most of his biographers hitherto.

The volume includes a chapter on Cromwell's fame, as it has varied through the centuries; there are also appendices, addenda to the general bibliography already given, and an index to the whole work. The compilers deserve to be congratulated on their very real service to scholarship.

In *T.L.S.* (13 Sept.) Robert Gathorne-Hardy points out, in connexion with an article (*ibid.*, 30 Aug.) on *Montaigne among the English*, the indubitable influence upon Taylor of Florio's translation.

The same contributor (*ibid.*, 20 Sept.) also gives a list of *Jeremy*

⁶ *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius. Gleanings from Hartlib's Papers*, by G. H. Turnbull. Univ. Press of Liverpool and Hodder and Stoughton. pp. xi+477. 30s.

⁷ *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, with an Introduction, Notes and an Account of his Life*, by Wilbur Cortez Abbott, with the assistance of Madeleine R. Gleason and Catherine D. Crane. Vol IV, *The Protectorate, 1655-8*. Harvard Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xvi+1085. \$7.50. 42s.

Taylor's Annotations (autograph notes and corrections) in two copies of *Holy Living* (editions of 1650 and 1656) and one of *Holy Dying* (ed. of 1658). These are of textual and interpretative significance, and the copy of *Holy Dying* contains on a blank page a long prayer in Taylor's hand. "

H. J. Oliver writes in *M.L.R.* (July) *On The Composition and Revisions of 'The Compleat Angler'*, stressing the relations of the work with earlier treatises and Walton's dominant intention to provide a reliable text-book, not unreasonably claiming completeness. Some of the revisions reflect his desire to strengthen the moral value of the work, others his concern for accuracy; not all of them improve the work as literature, though some of them do. Walton did not write very easily; but his practical aims and his earnest labours to realize them need not lessen the attractions of his book.

The late F. E. Hutchinson's contribution on Milton to the 'Teach Yourself History' Library⁸ gives more than an estimate of Milton's position in the history of English thought: it is a brief but measured and perceptive interpretation of his ideas, such as will make for a right understanding and appreciation of his writings. It incorporates the results of recent scholarship on the poet's life and on the development of his views. Due regard is had to the peculiarities of his character, temperament and personal circumstances, but he also appears as a representative Englishman, not least in his championship of freedom; and the whole discussion is conducted in a generous though discriminating awareness of what is permanently to be prized in his intellectual and literary achievement.

T. S. Eliot⁹ returns to the subject of Milton with a view to modifying some of the considerations which he offered at an earlier date. He explains that his point of view is that not of the scholar but of the practitioner, and that his concern is with the bearing of Milton's example on poetry in our day. 'I do not think that any

⁸ *Milton and the English Mind*, by F. E. Hutchinsons. (1946) Hodder and Stoughton for the English Univ. Press. pp. xii+197. 5s.

⁹ *Milton*, by T. S. Eliot. O.U.P. (Proceedings of the British Academy: Annual Lecture on a Master Mind). pp. 19. 2s. 6d.

modern poet, unless in a fit of irresponsible pævishness, has ever denied Milton's consummate powers.' But his was a greatness of eccentricity and his influence twenty-five years ago could not but militate against the movement in poetry towards the exploitation of contemporary themes and the idioms of prose and conversation. Now another race has been and 'poets are sufficiently removed from Milton, and sufficiently liberated from his reputation, to approach the study of his work without danger and with profit to their poetry and the English language'.

The specific proposition that 'Milton may be said never to have seen anything' is countered by Phyllis MacKenzie in *U.T.Q.* (Oct. 1946) under heading *Milton's Visual Imagination: An Answer to T. S. Eliot*. It is here maintained that Milton's visual imagination was strong to create such effects as he desired. He was capable of particularity, but often shunned it in the service of a large cumulative picture. Appropriate illustration of his habits in description is provided, and the argument is resourceful and spirited.

The Music of Milton, as considered by Donald R. Roberts in *P.Q.* (Oct.), means largely the nature of his verse as this can be thought to have been affected by the qualities of contemporary music, especially the elements of variety, of continuous movement, 'drawn out from verse to verse', and of imitative sound. The discussion is conducted with a full sense of its inherently difficult subject, and deserves attention from students of Milton's poetic style.

That Milton had a native affinity and an acquired familiarity with Plato has been observed before, but the full extent of the relationship has hardly been revealed hitherto. Irene Samuel, who devotes a volume¹⁰ to the subject, has the rather rare advantage of knowing both writers thoroughly, and she draws into focus the major features in the comparison without neglecting such details as may serve to give cogency to her argument. The function of the poet as teacher, the conception of the 'good life' in reference to pleasure, wealth, fame, and knowledge, the Platonic theory of ideas, and how far Milton went beyond Plato in his doctrine of

¹⁰ *Plato and Milton*, by Irene Samuel. Ithaca, New York: Cornell Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xi+182. 11s. 6d.

love—these are all succinctly but revealingly canvassed; and the effect is to make it plainer than ever that Milton is not to be rightly understood unless the influence of Plato on his mind and spirit is recognized. This is a volume which readers of Milton cannot afford to neglect.

Eugenia Chifos considers the occasion and dating of *Milton's Letter to Gill, 20 May, 1628* in *M.L.N.* (Jan.). She gives her reasons for thinking that the poem discussed by Milton was probably the one which celebrated the taking of Hertogenbosch in September 1629, and therefore that the letter is incorrectly dated 1628 for 1630.

S. in Ph. (Oct.) contains a discussion by Fredelle Bruser of 'Comus' and the *Rose Song*, Milton's response and contribution in *Comus* to the traditional theme of 'carpe diem'. It is shown with substantial illustration how that theme had been developed in two directions, pagan and Christian, indulgent and ascetic, usually without much attempt to harmonize nature with grace; and how well Milton provides a balance between the rival claims of flesh and spirit by recommending a chastity 'which does not reject the body but refines and purifies it', and a love whose 'chiefest office begins and ends in the soul'.

In a note on *Milton and Lydgate* in *R.E.S.* (April) Mabel Day quotes from Lydgate some passages which may have affected the composition of *Il Penseroso* and *Comus*.

Of *Two Milton Notes* in *N. & Q.* (4 Oct.) by William Elton the first suggests as a possible source for some lines in *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* Thomas Robinson's *The Life and Death of Mary Magdalene*, ll. 575 onwards; and the second cites Dante's 'cieca cupidigia' in connexion with 'blind mouths' in *Lycidas*, l. 119.

E. S. de Beer has a note in *R.E.S.* (Jan.) on *St. Peter* in 'Lycidas', contesting the view that in this poem Milton was indulging 'his malignity to the church' and that he was already an enemy to the episcopate. St. Peter is not there as 'head of the Catholic Church' but as the assailant of 'false teachers' (2 Peter ii, 1); and is in one aspect the modern bishop seeking the improvement of the clergy, in another the apostle expressing the will of God. The 'grim wolf'

is the Roman Church. The 'two-handed engine' is the sword of Zechariah xiii, 7.

In *S. in Ph.* (Jan.) Warren B. Austin compares Milton's '*Lycidas*' and *Two Latin Elegies by Giles Fletcher, the Elder*, suggesting that Fletcher's *Adonis* and his eulogium of Walter Haddon were among the numerous elegiac precedents which could have helped to give *Lycidas* its character. The traditions of pastoral poetry behind all three examples are allowed for, but Austin doubts whether they would account for the degree of similarity to *Lycidas* which Fletcher's two poems show. The evidence is fully presented.

Theodore H. Banks in *M.L.N.* (Jan.) finds *A Source for 'Lycidas'*, 154-8, in *Pericles*, III, i, 57-65.

U.T.Q. (July) gives *Lament for Damon: 'The Epitaphium Damonis' of Milton* as translated by Helen Waddell and privately printed in 1943.

Merritt Y. Hughes now adds to his editions of Milton's poems a valuable book of selections from the prose.¹¹ The volume presents five tracts in full, *Of Education*, *The Reason of Church Government*, *Areopagitica*, *The Tenure of Kings*, and *The Ready and Easy Way*, together with as much from other works (including *De Doctrina*) as will serve to illustrate the evolution of Milton's thought. Besides the kind of learned and helpful commentary which Hughes has led us to expect, he supplies a substantial introduction (103 pages) explaining the historical and intellectual implications of Milton's prose writings. There is a comprehensive bibliography and there are the *Lives* by Aubrey, Edward Phillips, and 'anon'. Hughes is very faithful to his own doctrine that 'the historian's point of view is, or ought to be, the prime concern of students'. We must go elsewhere for aesthetic evaluations of Milton's prose. But we may well be more than content where so much is both thoroughly and compendiously provided.

Seeing that *Of Education* was addressed to Hartlib it is disappointing that Hartlib's recovered papers (see above, p. 182) contain no letter from Milton. There are, however, some references. Hartlib records in 1643 that 'Mr. Milton in Aldersgate Street has written many good books a great traveller and full of projects

¹¹ *John Milton. Prose Selections*, ed. by Merritt Y. Hughes. New York: The Odyssey Press. pp. cxc + 454. \$2.00.

and inventions', and in 1648 that 'Milton is not only writing a Univ. History of England but also an Epitome of all Purchas Volumes'.

Edward S. Le Comte in *F.M.L.A.* (Dec.) discusses *Milton's Attitude towards Women in 'The History of Britain'*, pointing out that here Milton was speaking for himself as he can less positively be said to speak in *Paradise Lost* and *Samson Agonistes*. The main drift is that 'any manifestation of "female ambition" stirs in Milton disdain'. Le Comte finds more animus in the accounts of women's vagaries in Books I-IV, more detachment and tolerance in the later-written Books V-VI. The mood changes, but not Milton's adherence to the generally accepted opinion that women should keep their place.

The stream of books and articles on *Paradise Lost* shows no sign of abating and this year it has brought along three volumes as fresh and enterprising as any of their recent predecessors.

The critics referred to in A. J. A. Waldock's title¹² are chiefly those of our own time who have sought to explain what Milton 'meant' by his poem. Opposing the romantic theory that the poetry can be separated from the ideas it presupposes or recommends they have tried to show that the manifest or the latent content of *Paradise Lost* is still valid for the modern reader. Waldock is critical of meanings teased out of or read into a poem which, he thinks, announces and pursues its tenor plainly enough; and he is rather concerned with the question how far Milton has successfully done what he set out to do. The story is analysed with attention to its structure, and especially to such 'strain o' the stuff and warpings past the aim' as an alert and logical intelligence can make out to Milton's disadvantage. The poet got into difficulties which are not all due to the intractable nature of his subject. 'Milton's central theme denied him the full expression of his deepest interests', and these emerge in ways that disturb the logic of his narrative. Satan, after all that has lately been urged to the contrary, is really more attractive than was intended; and, to go no further, there is a discord at the heart of the poem, when Adam gains our approval for his loyalty to Eve in her shame, against all

¹² '*Paradise Lost*' and its Critics, by A. J. A. Waldock. C.U.P. pp. vii + 147. 8s. 6d.

the implications of the story that such approval ought to be withheld.

Waldock's points are all closely and acutely argued, and while the structure of the poem is isolated from other considerations the argument seems cogent enough. Whether for most readers it avails so much in the mood into which the poem as a complex aesthetic whole persuades us is another question. Milton, like Shakespear, knew, or wrote as if he knew, that 'the willing suspension of disbelief that constitutes poetic faith' depends upon other things beside obvious consistency of characterization and verisimilitude in the conduct of the fable; and when the spell is upon us we can enter a state, not necessarily of drugged apprehension, but of 'Negative Capability, that is when a man is capable of being in uncertainties, mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reachings after fact or reason'. Waldock recognizes this, and indeed the greatness of Milton's performance in all other respects than those he singles out: 'we are only too ready to accept, to be quiet, to grant the poet—in reason, and perhaps beyond reason—what he wishes. But he, on his side, must not try us too far.'

That he does not try everyone as far and in the same ways as he tries Waldock appears from the second volume on *Paradise Lost* to be noticed here.¹³ Now, in respect of Satan, we are told that 'Milton's heart was not at war with his head', and in respect of Adam's throwing in his lot with Eve after her fall that 'we cannot approve of what Adam does and we can approve still less the alacrity with which he does it'. Does this polarity of opposition to Waldock's views come about because Rajan is by nature and instruction more sympathetic to Milton's ideas and procedure? At any rate he shows the advantages of approaching the poem so far as possible in the spirit of a seventeenth-century reader, allowing generously for the conventions of contemporary thought and for the interplay in Milton's mind of convention and speculative enterprise. Rajan makes much of Milton's skill in glossing over difficulties created by his theme and by his own heterodoxy. The 'pessimism of Books XI and XII', the problem of Satan, and the style of *Paradise Lost* are discussed with great freshness and insight; and altogether Rajan has brought to his task such learning and critical

¹³ *'Paradise Lost' and the Seventeenth Century Reader*, by B. Rajan. Chatto & Windus. pp. 171. 10s. 6d.

ability as should ensure for his book the attention of all serious Milton scholars.

The third work is of quite a different order. Allan H. Gilbert¹⁴ goes further than anyone else has yet gone in seeing evidence that in design and in many respects of execution *Paradise Lost* is not now as it was formerly intended to be. Having regard to the MS. plans for a tragedy, the Argument prefixed to each of the present Books, and the apparent discrepancies not only between the Arguments and the poem but between many features of the poem itself, Gilbert propounds a far-reaching theory that during the period of composition Milton changed his mind a good deal about the choice and disposal of his material. A number of passages, it is suggested, may be survivals from an abandoned drama; but the two main propositions are (a) that at an earlier stage the poem did not plunge *in medias res* but began with the War in Heaven, and (b) that the account of the Creation came immediately after Satan's journey through Chaos, the decision to have this story narrated to Adam, occurring, like many other things, as an afterthought. The poem at this juncture was considerably shorter than in its final development; a chapter is given to the later material (including Pandaemonium, the allegory of Sin and Death, the Abdiel episode, etc.). Another chapter is entitled 'Miscellaneous Inconsistencies and Insertions'. There are tables showing exactly what in Gilbert's view was the arrangement of the earlier epic and the order in which the parts of the poem we know was written. Whether the theory is admissible or not as it stands, it deserves some pondering by those who combine an interest in finished works with an interest in the processes which went to their making.

In the article '*Paradise Lost* and the Anglo-Saxon Tradition' (see pp. 61-2), J. W. Lever re-opens the question of Milton's possible indebtedness to the Cædmonian *Genesis*. Lever stresses the importance of Vossius' statement in 1651 that Milton was well acquainted with Junius, who in the same year discovered *Genesis* in Ussher's library; since this lends no little force to the argument, here supported by considerations of structure and textual parallels, that Milton was really influenced by the Anglo-Saxon poem. Lever

¹⁴ *On the Composition of 'Paradise Lost,'* by Allan H. Gilbert. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press and O.U.P. pp. x + 185. \$3.50. 20s.

goes further and suggests that the Cædmonian example may account for Milton's abandoning other themes for his epic in favour of that in which 'Cædmon' had anticipated him.

Ben G. Lumpkin contributes to *S. in Ph.* (Jan.) an article on *Fate in 'Paradise Lost'*, usefully discriminating between the two distinct meanings of the term; the first is that 'in which Milton himself and the characters on God's side commonly use the word to assert God's omnipotence',—a decree, or the will of God; the other is the blasphemous Satanic sense adopted by the characters who reject or doubt the doctrine that God is all-powerful—a force transcending and controlling God and the universe. The article is substantial and well documented.

In *N. & Q.* (31 May) George W. Whiting cites Henry Greenwood's *Tormenting Tophet* (1624) for the elements it has in common with Milton's description of Hell; and (*ibid.*, 23 Aug.) D. T. Starnes quotes to similar purpose the article *Gehenna* in Charles Stephanus's *Dictionarium*.

In *J.E.G.P.* (Jan.) Walter C. Curry examines *Milton's Chaos and Old Night* with reference to Neoplatonist interpretations of Orphic and Pythagorean cosmogony. He finds that the earlier comments of Milton scholars 'do not explain fully the sources of the poet's concept of Chaos as a god, or the precise relationship between Old Night and that Orphic Night which is called "the mother of gods and men"', or why both Chaos and Old Night should be represented as co-rulers over chaos, or why in some sense they seem "hostile to good"; questions which are here sifted with great thoroughness and much fullness of information.

In *R.E.S.* (April) B. A. Wright has a *Note on 'Paradise Lost'*, I. 230, suggesting that the meaning here intended for 'hue' is not 'colour' but 'appearance', a well authenticated though now obsolete sense.

To *Paradise Regained* Elizabeth M. Pope¹⁵ applies a method of study which has recently found favour in discussions of *Paradise Lost*: the scholar examines the intellectual soil in which the poem

¹⁵ *'Paradise Regained': the Tradition and the Poem*, by Elizabeth Marie Pope. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press and O.U.P. pp. xvi + 135, + 9 pp. of plates. 12s. 6d.

is rooted, with a view to discovering how much of its drift and detail had been current in Christian belief before Milton wrote. Thus Miss Pope considers all the salient doctrinal features of *Paradise Regained*, the emphasis on Christ's human qualities, Satan's disguise, the motives attributed to the characters, etc., and shows that hardly any of them would cause great surprise to Milton's contemporaries; the least derivative was the treatment of the *mitte te deorsum* episode, and even this was not without precedent. The effect of the investigation is to make it less easy to assert that Milton was indebted to particular writers, to show again the value of dissociating the poem from twentieth-century beliefs and disbeliefs, and to restrain the modern reader 'from regarding as heretical and personal much that the seventeenth-century reader would have found conventional and unoriginal'.

A further statement, that a knowledge of the tradition 'provides the only sound foundation for an impartial and satisfactory judgment of the work as a whole', is perhaps well enough in its context; it is certainly very useful to have *Paradise Regained* brought so thoroughly and carefully into relation with the lore that had slowly gathered round the Gospel accounts of the Temptation. But it would be a misfortune if the statement allowed anyone to forget that Milton's poem has a vitality of imagination and style to which few biblical commentators could make any substantial claim.

Under heading *Milton's 'Brief Epic'* (*S. in Ph.*, April) Charles W. Jones considers the various reasons which he thinks may have led Milton to regard the Book of Job as an epic poem and thus as a precedent for the brief kind represented by *Paradise Regained*. Patristic and other authorities are quoted to the effect that the Book of Job had an external metrical form comparable to that of Greek epic poetry and was also epic in spirit and quality.

S. in Ph. (July) contains under heading *Anonymous Critic of Milton: Richard Leigh? or Samuel Butler?* an article by Paul B. Anderson, who fully and cogently supports his belief that Butler was the author of the three anti-Milton pamphlets: (1) *The Character of the Rump* (1660), (2) *The Censure of the Rota*, and (3) *The Transposer Rehears'd*.

In *M.L.N.* (May) E. H. Gardner argues that the Chetwood,

translator (1683) of Plutarch's *Lycurgus*, must have associated a passage in that work with *Paradise Lost*, I, 549-55, as he there employs Milton's phrase 'deliberate valour'.

Maurice Kelley in *M.L.N.* (March) discusses *Milton's commonplace Book*, Folio 20, and submits that apart from the first word 'De' the page is not in Milton's hand but in that of Lord Preston.

The following were not obtained for notice: *La Vita, Le Opere, I Tempi di Edoardo Herbert di Chirbury*, by Mario M. Rossi (Firenze: G. C. Sansoni, lire 5000); *Nature and Spirit in Herrick's Poetry*, by M. Whitcomb Hess (*Personalist*, xxvii, 1946); *Donne's Aire and Angels*, by K. Neill (*Explicator*, vi); *Milton's 'Lycidas', 164 and 183-5*, by T. O. Mabbott (*Explicator*, v.).

XI

THE RESTORATION

By V. DE SOLA PINTO

THE year under review has yielded only a scanty harvest of Restoration studies. They consist of one book edited by an English scholar and some articles and notes in periodicals, coming chiefly from America.

Richard Leigh (1650–1725) was the author of several works, including the pamphlet called *The Censure of the Rota on Mr. Dryden's 'Conquest of Granada'*, written when he was an undergraduate at Oxford, and now remembered by Dryden's acid reference to its author in the Epistle Dedicatory to *The Assignation*. Leigh published a small volume of *Poems* in 1675, which does not seem to have attracted any notice. Like other poets of the period he was quite forgotten until Norman Ault included one of his poems in his *Seventeenth-Century Lyrics*. Now Hugh Macdonald has produced a useful reprint of the *Poems* of 1675¹ with a brief, workman-like, unpretentious introduction giving in concise form the relevant information about the Leigh family and Richard Leigh himself, with a short critical account of his writings.

Leigh is a minor poet, but he belongs to an age of good minor poetry. His longer poems are in the heroic couplet, and, though they all contain fine lines, they lack the lucidity and vigour of the best Restoration work in that form. His couplets recall those of Henry Vaughan and Norris of Bemerton rather than those of Rochester or Dryden. His best poems are his meditative and lyrical pieces, which, though unequal in execution, show considerable originality. They have affinities to the work both of Marvell and of Cowley, but, as Macdonald points out in his introduction, the best of them are 'almost entirely his own'. Macdonald writes that 'Leigh possessed fancy rather than imagination'. If Coleridge's terminology is to be used, it would perhaps be truer to say that poems like *Air*, *The Eccho*, *To a Lady Playing with a Squirrel*

¹ *Poems by Richard Leigh*, 1675. Reprinted with an Introduction by Hugh Macdonald. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. xvi + 80. 7s. 6d.

and *Bathing Herself* are the result of that peculiar kind of witty fancy shot through with imagination, which is the mark of the best English culture of the period.

Leigh, like a number of other forgotten English poets of the later seventeenth century, certainly deserves to be reprinted. When the work of more of these poets is available, it will, perhaps, be recognized that the old habit of labelling the period simply as The Age of Dryden is misleading and does less than justice to an age of very varied and remarkable poetic activity.

The only fault that can be found with Macdonald's excellent edition is that the Introduction is rather too laconic. A fuller account of *The Censure of the Rota*, for instance, with some quotations, would have added to its value, and there might have been a more detailed examination of Leigh's obvious interest in contemporary science.

The Rise and Fall of a Martyrology: Sermons on Charles I (H.L.Q., Feb.) by Helen W. Randall is a scholarly and acute examination of the history of the celebration of 30 January as the anniversary of the execution of Charles I with particular reference to the sermons preached on that subject from 1649 to the nineteenth century. The article is of particular interest to students of Restoration literature because of its valuable criticism of late seventeenth century sermons. Helen Randall stresses the reaction against the old style of treatment of the 'martyrdom' to be found in the sermons of such preachers as Robert South and Joseph Glanvill, in whose work 'the appeal to tears begins to give way before a more or less rational appeal to political conscience.' Especially instructive is her comparison between two passages on *Eikon Basilike*, the first by Arthur Bury (1662) and the second by Gilbert Burnet (1682), which exhibit very well both the 'shift in purpose' of the preachers and the development of the new style of 'plain' prose.

George P. Parks contributed a thoughtful and interesting study of *John Evelyn and the Art of Travel* to *H.L.Q.* (May). He sees in Evelyn's *Bildungsreise* 'a new stage in the history of English travel abroad, and especially in the history of English travel to Italy'. In the Middle Ages Englishmen visited Italy as clerics or pilgrims, soldiers, diplomats or students. 'The Reformation suppressed most

of the earlier interests, leaving as the principal role that of student', and, as many books testify, the English students 'paid special devotion to the art of political inquiry; that is, to such study of foreign nations . . . as would profit a statesman.' Evelyn's single gesture of compliance with this tradition was his early work *The State of France* (1652). His true interest is to be found in the record of his Italian journey. 'It is in a word, the study of the fine arts and sciences. This is his new learning, to replace the older learning of a Sidney, a Sandys or a Milton.'

Parks compares Evelyn's ideal of travel with that of Chesterfield as well as with that of the older travellers. He finds that Evelyn is much less interested in the social aspects of travel than Chesterfield and cared little for the 'drawing-room and the ball-room'. 'The connoisseur, the cultivated individual informed in the fine arts and sciences, the virtuoso in sum is the new ideal traveller whom Evelyn . . . introduces into English travel literature.' An examination of Evelyn's remarks on architecture, his studies on painting, sculpture, gardening, the history of crafts and trades as well as the sciences and the services rendered by him to the Royal Society, show him as a very different figure from the 'somewhat aimless dilettante of the usual portrait'. Parks sums up his findings by describing Evelyn's life as 'an intellectual career'. It is to be hoped that he will now produce a biography of this important and significant writer.

Among the Notes and Documents appended to *H.L.Q.*, x, 3, is a series of 'Paradoxes' printed from a manuscript in the Ellesmere collection in the Huntington Library with a short introduction by C. F. Mullett, whose article on the Sherlock controversy (*A Case of Allegiance*) was noticed in *Y.W.*, xxvii, 187. The Paradoxes are the work of an ardent Jacobite writing soon after the Revolution of 1688 and recalling 'the sharp controversy, with ecclesiastical overtones, aroused by the requirement of oaths to William and Mary'. The anonymous author is a master of witty, pungent phrasing, which anticipates the controversial style of Swift and Arbuthnot.

Collins Baker, the eminent authority on British painting, contributes to the same issue of *H.L.Q.* a note on *Sir James Thornhill as a Bible Illustrator*. Thornhill is remembered as a mural painter who executed the decorations of the cupola of St. Paul's and also

painted the walls and ceilings of many country houses. It is not generally known that he was also a book illustrator. Collins Baker shows that with Louis Chéron and Laguerre he designed the illustrations to the Oxford Bible of 1717. Thornhill's contributions were all to the Old Testament, but among the extra-illustrated volumes of what is known as the 'Kitto Bible' in the Huntington Library is a nearly complete set of Thornhill designs illustrating the New Testament. Collins Baker lists and describes those ninety-one sketches. He also draws attention to another sheet from Thornhill's sketchbook in the same Kitto collection, where, taking the single episode of Susannah and the Elders, Thornhill experiments no less than thirteen times with the problem of stating the affair in effective design. The general verdict is that in these illustrations and especially those that illustrate *Revelation*, Thornhill shows 'more depth and more imagination than his mural decorations ever suggested'. It is to be hoped that Collins Baker will now publish the whole series of Thornhill's Bible illustrations.

In an article contributed to *M.L.R.*, Oct. 1942 (see *Y.W.*, xxiii, 170) J. O. Bartley surveyed the development of the Irishman as a 'stock' character in English drama from 1587 to 1800. He divided the period into three units (1587-1659, 1660-1759 and 1760-1800), labelling them respectively 'realistic', 'indifferent' and 'false'. Florence R. Scott in an essay entitled *Teg—the Stage Irishman* (see p. 157) expresses her disagreement with several of Bartley's findings and criticises the 'over-simplification' of his analysis. By re-focusing the material and centring it upon Teg, the comic Irish servant in Sir Robert Howard's comedy *The Committee* (1662) she attempts 'to present the stage Irishman in somewhat clearer perspective'. An examination of the Irish figures in pre-Restoration drama from the 'wild Irishman' in *The Misfortunes of Arthur* and Shakespeare's McMorris in *Henry V* shows that the Irishman in Elizabethan and Caroline drama was very far from 'realistic', but was usually a conventional figure whom the audiences enjoyed because he was presented in an absurd light.

Already, however, in plays like Dekker's *The Honest Whore II* and Shirley's *Hide Park* there had been attempts at realism in the presentation of the comic, loyal Irish servant speaking in some sort of dialect. The name Teg or Teague was not original with Sir

Robert, and the character of the loyal, impetuous, naïve Irish servant was fairly well established by the Restoration. Miss Scott shows undoubtedly that Howard's Teg is 'a much more real and convincing character than any of those previous stage Irishmen. Obviously founded on Howard's acquaintance with his own Irish servant, Teg is a character which is developed in dramatic fashion, 'a real flesh and blood man, with heartaches and joys'. The label 'indifferent' is thus shown to be quite inapplicable to this vivid comic character in whom 'hitherto isolated conventional characteristics' are fused 'with other traits of an actual person'.

When Sir Edmund Gosse first described the adventures of Sir George Etherege in Ratisbon after reading the manuscript of his Letter Book, he called the actress with whom Etherege had a liaison in that city by the Christian name of Julia. Subsequent writers on Etherege, including H. F. B. Brett Smith who edited *The Dramatic Works*, and Sybil Rosenfeld who edited the *Letter Book* have followed Gosse in this respect. J. H. Wilson in *M.L.N.* (Jan.) shows that they were all mistaken. Etherege himself never mentions the lady's name and only alludes to 'Julia' in a letter written to Mr. Cooke on 28 November 1687, where he is comparing himself with Ovid. He seems to be referring here not to the Ratisbon actress, but to some person in England from whom he is separated by his exile, and he may be simply using a conventional allusion to Julia, the daughter of Augustus, for whose sake Ovid was traditionally supposed to have been banished to Tomi.

Montagu Summers in his edition of Dryden's Plays suggested that the origin of the episode of Ozmyn and Benzayda in Dryden's *Almanzor and Almahide* (*The Conquest of Granada, Part I*) was the story of Osman and Alibech in Mlle de Scudéry's *Ibrahim*. Jerome W. Schweitzer in an article in *M.L.N.*, April 1939 (see *Y.W.*, xx, 122), pointed out that, as Dryden made use of Georges de Scudéry's *Almahide* as the main source of his play, he could have found inspiration of the Ozmyn-Benzayda episode in the intercalated story of Abdalla and Fatime, also in *Almahide*. In a fresh note contributed to *M.L.N.* (April) to refute Summer's inference, he cites evidence consisting of parallel passages from Dryden's play and *Almahide* and certain details which support the view that Dryden's source was not *Ibrahim* but *Almahide*.

James Thorpe contributes to the same issue of *M.L.N.* (April) a note on *The Authenticity of 'The Wish' as a Rochester Poem*. This little six line epigram was not included in any of the seventeenth-century editions of Rochester's poems, but first appeared in the editions of 1714 and 1721. Thorpe had found that it had been printed anonymously in *Merry Drollery* (1661) under the title of *Insatiate Desire*. He also reports that it is attributed to Rochester in an important manuscript collection now in the Houghton Library at Harvard. This collection was compiled between 1680 and 1685 and in a footnote Thorpe promises 'to communicate from it in the near future certain material dealing with Rochester and other Restoration poets'. In spite of this early attribution of the poem to Rochester, Thorpe considers that 'it is incredible that he composed this mature piece at such an age that it could have found its way into print in a drollery by the time he was barely fourteen'. Thorpe strangely describes *The Wish* or *The Insatiate Desire* as 'a mature piece'. Actually this witty, ribald trifle might well have been composed by Rochester with the help of his tutor, Robert Whitehall, when he was a precocious undergraduate.

Thorpe also contributed to *N. & Q.*, 14 June, an article entitled *Sedley and Beau Fielding* in which he reports three sets of marginal annotations in the Princeton copy of the 1702 edition of *The Miscellaneous Works* of Sir Charles Sedley. Two of these merely provide additional confirmation of indentifications already established in the notes to *The Poetical and Dramatic Works* of Sir Charles Sedley edited by the present writer (1928). The third is the most interesting. It consists simply of the words 'Upon Beau Fielding' on p. 84 above the poem called *Advice to the Old Beaux*. Thorpe gives a short account of Beau Fielding and from a comparison of the poem with the descriptions by Lucas and Steele he concludes that the identification supplied by the unknown annotator is at least highly probable, though it cannot be proved.

In two rather irrelevant footnotes he takes the present writer to task for alleged shortcomings of his edition of Sedley's *Poetical and Dramatic Works*. In one he censures the editor for not having 'remarked on the significance' of Sedley's attitude towards the trial of George Pitts for the killing of Councillor Hoyle, the subject of *The Ballad to the Tune of Bateman*, which Thorpe connects

with Sedley's alleged Jacobitism and calls 'an inspoken commentary on King and Government'. In the other he accuses the editor of violating his own principle of no silent corrections (except for the change of printer's errors and the long s) by printing S—— in l. 18 of *Upon the Author of the Satyr against Wit* instead of Sh——, which appears in the Princeton copy of the 1702 edition.

The present writer replied in a note contributed to *N. & Q.* (6 Sept.). He contended that Thorpe took *The Ballad to the Tune of Bateman* far too seriously, that it was really a light, humorous piece in which the poet regarded both sides to the dispute with 'an air of ironic impartiality', and that to connect it with Sedley's alleged Jacobitism was 'simply moonshine'. He also rebutted the charge of editorial incompetence or dishonesty with reference to *Upon the Author of the Satyr against Wit* by pointing out that the text of this poem in his edition was accurately set up from his own copy of the 1702 edition of *The Miscellaneous Works*, which has the reading 'S——' in l. 18. Had the Princeton copy been available, he would certainly have recorded the alleged variant in his notes.

In a short article in *T.L.S.* (5 July) Katherine A. Esdaile reports that when she was examining the manuscript of Aubrey's *Surrey* in the Bodleian she found 'some notes which, not concerning Surrey, have apparently never been reprinted (?printed)'. She gives the gist of seven of these notes with quotations in her article.

They are good examples of the miscellaneous information that Aubrey loved to record. One of the most interesting deals with the material of the old Charing Cross which was demolished by order of Parliament in 1647. Aubrey in this note mentions that he got his information from John Bushnell, the sculptor, and the details about Bushnell's house supplement the account given by virtue of his visit to the Sculptor's two sons in 1725. Another note gives the 'fullest extant account' of Cibber's elaborate fountain in Soho Square, which Mrs. Esdaile prints in full. It may be noticed that the usually careful indexer of *T.L.S.* has apparently overlooked this article and it is not indexed either under 'Aubrey' or 'Esdaile'.

XII

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By EDITH J. MORLEY

THERE is no major edition of an eighteenth-century writer to consider this year, but a substantial number of critical and historical commentaries testify to continued interest in the period surveyed in this chapter. It begins as usual with texts, and goes on to the studies of individual authors and to more general criticism.

R. Halsband does good service by the re-issue for the first time of the nine papers by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu which she entitled *The Nonsense of Common Sense*¹, *Common Sense* being the name of the opposition periodical attacked. Political journalism is a little-known phase of Lady Mary's many activities and it reveals her in an unexpected light. Halsband proves her authorship of the essays in his illuminating introduction which explains how she came to take part in the political warfare of the day. The essays do not appear to have been of much value to her party since they were continued only for nine numbers. But they are of great interest to the modern reader both because of their social satire and because they show 'Lady Mary in a new rôle' and 'display entirely new facts in her character as a writer and a thinker'. 'The essays endow her with a new dimension, as it were, and illuminate further a brilliant figure of a paradoxical age.'

Alan Hodge, General Editor of *The Novel Library*, and the publishers are alike to be congratulated on their enterprise in presenting at a reasonable price the 'representative collection of the world's best novels', of which these eighteenth-century specimens from English literature are a promising foretaste.² In these days of book stringency, it is particularly pleasant to be able to

¹ *The Nonsense of Common Sense*, by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, ed. by Robert Halsband. Evanston: North-western Univ. pp. xxx+57. \$3.

² *Moll Flanders*, by D. Defoe. *Colonel Jack*, by D. Defoe. *Gulliver's Travels*, by J. Swift. *Joseph Andrews*, by H. Fielding. Hamish Hamilton. pp. viii+376; viii+348; x+330; xxii+374. Each 6s.

welcome such excellent reprints, with brief, but competent, introductions that really contribute to an understanding of the texts.

*Essays from Eighteenth-Century Periodicals*³ are selected from fifteen publications which appeared between 1709 and 1787, some of them comparatively unknown to the general public. The editor has made her choice with skill and her little volume will give pleasure to many besides the students for whom it is primarily intended. 'There is an introduction, and notes are added on points of literary interest', while Steele, Addison, Fielding, Johnson, Goldsmith and Mackenzie are among the writers represented.

David Hume's '*An Historical Essay on Chivalry and Modern Honour*' is printed and described by Ernest Campbell Mossner in *M.P.* (Aug.). The eight-page incomplete MS. is among the Hume papers in the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and has not hitherto been reproduced in full from the author's fair copy. The exact date of this essay is uncertain, but is between 1725 and 1727 so that it is Hume's earliest extant work and may have been an undergraduate effort. At any rate it confirms his claim to a life-long 'passion for literature'.

Carl Van Doren continues his study of Franklin by the publication of the *Letters and Papers of Benjamin Franklin and Richard Jackson*,⁴ the bulk of which were obtained at the Estrange-Malone sale in January 1945, and are now first printed from the original MSS., together with certain other material already possessed by the American Philosophical Society. Jackson, 'the all-knowing', as Dr. Johnson dubbed him, was an authority on colonial affairs and, with Franklin, joint 'Agent for the Province of Pennsylvania . . . at the Court of Great Britain' until he retired in 1770 in order to become counsel to the Board of Trade and Plantations. Franklin and Jackson were friends as well as colleagues and by no means confined their correspondence to the troubles which were to lead to the American Revolution. Franklin, 'to whom letter-writing

³ *Essays from Eighteenth Century Periodicals*, ed. by M. G. Segar. Methuen. pp. viii + 192. 5s.

⁴ *Letters and Papers of Benjamin Franklin and Richard Jackson*, 1753-85, ed. by Carl Van Doren. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. pp. x + 222. \$3.50.

was a major art', wrote more frequently than Jackson, and included much concerning his personal affairs as well as official information. But both men were distinguished correspondents in the greatest period of English letter-writing, so that Van Doren's admirably edited volume merits attention on account of the literary excellence as well as the subject-matter. The bulk of the letters date between 1762 and 1764, and it is during those years that they are of greatest interest. Van Doren's preliminary notes, by way of headings to the letters, give all the information required by the reader in order to follow them.

Thoughts on Jestings,⁵ according to its editor, Joseph Jones, is the earliest known attempt to discuss 'the points of difference between a good joke and a bad', and dates in its earliest German version from the year 1744. The second edition appeared ten years later and the English translation in 1764. The author, Georg Meier, was professor of philosophy at Halle, and one of the earliest students of aesthetics. His book is 'a pioneer effort . . . to ground the theory of humor thoroughly in aesthetics' which he describes as 'a much neglected and misunderstood science', but he also gives numerous examples of jesting in order to illustrate his theories. Jones does service by his scholarly reproduction of this early contribution to the study of aesthetics.

In his translation of the *Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morality*,⁶ André Leroy continues his task of making Hume's writings accessible to the French reader, while in the Preface he gives a summary account of his main tenets as expounded in the *Enquiry* and a comparison with the *Treatise on Human Nature*. Leroy concludes that Hume 'est bien resté fidèle à l'esprit du *Traité*'.

Dr. Campbell was an Irish clergyman who visited England in 1775 and subsequently on several occasions with the main purpose of making the acquaintance of Dr. Johnson. 'Like Boswell, he

⁵ *Thoughts on Jestings*, translated in the year 1764 from the second German edition of a Work by Georg Friedrich Meier, ed. by Joseph Jones. Univ. of Texas Press. pp. xii + 138. \$1.50.

⁶ *Enquête sur les Principes de la Morale* (1751), by D. Hume, trans. and ed. by André Leroy. Paris: Aubier. pp. 260.

kept a journal', and the small pocket-book in which he recorded his observations has been subjected to many vicissitudes, only finally overcome by its present pertinacious editor.⁷ Campbell's 'notes were unknown to the world until in 1854 there was published in Sydney the *Diary of a Visit to England in 1775, by an Irishman . . . and other papers by the same hand. With notes by Samuel Raymond.*' The editor claimed that the manuscript had been found in the offices of the Supreme Court at Sydney, and that while he had no doubt of its authenticity, he was unable to discover how it had come there. In 1859 a copy reached Macaulay who was convinced by internal evidence that the diary was genuine though he refused to review it in the *Edinburgh* as requested. In October of that year this was done by Henry Reeve who used material supplied by Macaulay for a lengthy account of the volume. In the following January a supplementary note appeared in the *Review*, also based on Macaulay's information, explaining how the diary had come to New South Wales. It had been in the possession of Campbell's brother, for some time Colonial Secretary at Sydney. This note established the authenticity of the diary, but was curiously overlooked by some later editors of Boswell though the genuineness was accepted by Birkbeck Hill.

Until now however it had not been reprinted because the MS. had disappeared and it was obvious that the edition by Raymond was too garbled to be worth re-publication. By the help of Miss Ida E. Leeson, the Librarian of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Clifford at last succeeded in tracing the original diary which had remained un-catalogued in what is now the Public Library of New South Wales, where it had been deposited by Raymond in 1854.

Campbell's diary is eminently readable throughout, but its main interest lies in the pages—about twenty—which record *Johnsoniana*. It would be a pity were attention to be concentrated on the passage of Rabelaisian talk which has hitherto been given undue prominence because of its supposed inconsistency with Johnson's repeated condemnation of obscenity. Clifford (Note 114, p. 125) puts the story in its right perspective as 'second- or third-hand gossip' about something which occurred long before 1 April 1775, the date when Murphy repeated it in Campbell's presence. There is much else in the diary of greater interest and

⁷ *Dr. Campbell's Diary of a Visit to England in 1775*, ed. by James L. Clifford, with an Introduction by S. C. Roberts. C.U.P. pp. xvi + 148. 8s. 6d.

importance and the reader must be indebted to Clifford for the excellence of his editing and of his notes.

It was time to issue a new cheap edition of *Dr. Johnson's Prayers*⁸ and we can be grateful for Elton Trueblood's labours, in providing a useful little volume with a competent introduction in which Johnson's religious opinions are fully discussed. But not only scholars will regret the omission of the *Meditations* and disagree with the editor's reason for thus separating the 'autobiographical fragments' from 'the highly polished productions', i.e. the Prayers with which they have hitherto always been published. Nor is anything gained by the classification of the latter in 'eight major categories' which often serve to divide what the dates of composition link together in substance as well as time. The dates themselves are not given in the first category, that of prayers 'For Amendment of Life'. On the debit side is the addition of Johnson's last prayer from the manuscript now at Yale. It would be churlish to allow disagreement with his method to hinder recognition that Trueblood has achieved his purpose 'to allow the Prayers to stand alone, with no encumbrances so that they may become better known'.

Edmund Blunden's reprint of Smart's *Hymns for the Amusement of Children*,⁹ from a copy of the third edition, in the Bodleian Library, rescues from its long oblivion this rare item of the poet's work. For, as far as is known, only three of the original books are extant or, at present, have been traced, though others may, of course, turn up in the future. Meanwhile it is interesting to have a fresh specimen of the edifying literature provided for young readers in the eighteenth century, and by no less a writer than Christopher Smart. His so-called *Hymns* are most of them ill-adapted for singing, and probably were not intended for congregational use. 'This pictured hymn book, on a plan to make good girls and boys' was not meant to attract by its music but by its contents and its wood-cuts. The poems are 'exercises on virtues and principles of the Christian life'; often they probe far deeper than a child can penetrate, but always they have the virtue of 'a generous and a

⁸ *Dr. Johnson's Prayers*, ed. by Elton Trueblood. S.C.M. Press. pp. 100. 6s.

⁹ *Hymns for the Amusement of Children*, by Christopher Smart. Luttrell Society. Blackwell. pp. xvi + 84. Yearly subscription, 25s.

happy doctrine'. It is good to know that children were sometimes exhorted, even at that date, to be happy on Sunday.

*If you are merry sing away,
And touch the organs sweet;
This is the Lord's triumphant day,
Ye children in the galleries gay
Shout from each goodly seat.*

The *Hymns* have 'much besides metrical arrangement [which] distinguishes the true religious poetry of Smart . . . the mystical contemplations, the earnest exhortation, the blending of the familiar and the unfamiliar, the splendour and the homeliness of the diction'. 'In all he writes something original will come out. This touch of glory, indeed, is the element which is continuous.'

*A Journal of Thomas Hughes, for his Amusement, and Designed only for his Perusal by the time he attains the Age of 50 if he lives so long (1778-89)*¹⁰ is now for the first time printed from the small folio MS. volume which is in the possession of his family. The diary was begun by its author at the age of eighteen and continued until a few months before his death from consumption on 10 January 1790. Written solely for his own amusement it has, as its editor says, the charm of simple directness and gives 'realism to military life on the outposts of empire in the eighteenth century'. The chief interest is in the picture of social conditions in the colonies. Hughes was 'proud of his profession and of the good name of England'; 'he had no part in important affairs', but presented an 'unadorned record of his daily life and experience' as a soldier in the American War of Independence, as a prisoner of war, and later on the Canadian frontier. The journal 'fills out the picture of the time' and fully merits the care with which it has been edited. The spelling and punctuation have been modernized by R. W. David of the C.U.P., who also collaborated in the footnotes.

Fergusson died in 1774 in the Edinburgh Bedlam at the age of twenty-four, but this selection from his poems¹¹ suffices to prove

¹⁰ *A Journal by Thos. Hughes (1778-9)*, ed. by E. A. Benians. C.U.P. pp. xiv + 188. 8s. 6d.

¹¹ *Scots Poems*, by Robert Fergusson, ed. by Alexander Law. Saltire Society: Oliver and Boyd. pp. 70. 3s. 6d.

that he had already attained poetic maturity and to justify comparison with Burns, who gladly acclaimed his discipleship. Fergusson is primarily the poet of Edinburgh low life which he describes with humour and in the vernacular. The *Scots Poems* are excellently chosen and presented by Law, together with a satisfactory glossary by John Oliver.

The facsimile reprint in black and white of Blake's *Songs of Innocence and Experience*,¹² 'printed as they were meant to be seen', is a welcome and long-desired contribution to the study of the poet's work, and at a price which puts it within the reach of all. Ruthven Todd's brief introduction gives an account of the development of water-colour as a medium in England which explains Blake's gradual mastery of his technique. Todd does not refer to Benn's coloured photographic copy of the British Museum *Songs of Innocence* (*Y.W.*, vii, 229) with which this facsimile should be compared by those to whom it is accessible. But his black-and-white reprint suffices to justify Wicksteed's assertion that 'no one can fully understand the *Songs* divorced from their setting'.

Eighteen years have passed since Saurat's *Blake and Modern Thought* was noticed in *Y.W.* (x, 310-13): now he follows up that learned commentary with an anthology of Blake's poetry¹³ which is a fresh testimony to his love and understanding of the poet. Saurat's book 'is an attempt to choose those passages in which he wins through' and to apply Meredith's purely literary test in making the selection.

*Is it accepted of song?
Does it run with disciplined feet?*

For the editor does not conceal his belief that while Blake 'is a very great poet'—even among the greatest—he also wrote much 'deleterious rubbish'. 'The mythology is all bad, the theories are all bad, the moral system is all bad.' But this conceded (as it will

¹²*Songs of Innocence and of Experience as originally written and engraved by William Blake*, ed. by Ruthven Todd. London: Falcon Press. New York: United Book Club. 5s.

¹³*William Blake, Selected Poems*, ed. Denis Saurat. Westhouse. pp. 120. 12s. 6d.

not be by all his admirers), Blake nevertheless produced masterpieces, and not only in the short poems, by most people considered his greatest achievement. 'At his highest he reaches at the same time power, simplicity and the purest spiritual value.'

Saurat's selections from the *Prophetic Books* as well as from the other poems at any rate suffice to justify this opinion. The volume is admirably produced and illustrated with wood engravings, but contains some regrettable printers' errors, e.g. *Od* for *Of* which makes nonsense of the last line on the final page.

The New York Book Guild's photographic reproductions of Blake's twenty-two illustrations of the Book of Job¹⁴ are in black and white and therefore less attractive than Dent's full-colour facsimile edition published at the same price (*Y.W.*, xviii, 224) in 1937. The volume is also much more expensive than Benn's uncoloured edition of 1927 (*Y.W.*, viii, 253) which had the advantage of printing the text of the book of Job side by side with the illustrations. But the new series of reproductions is equally good and gains by the blue mounts of the photographs. The same cannot be said about the effect of the note by Kenneth Patchen which is composed in a jargon that is certainly not English and does not succeed in its apparent attempt to imitate Blake either in style or substance. Happily it is brief and therefore does not materially detract from the value of the book as a whole.

The *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (Vol. X) contains an interesting description and reproduction of *A Title Page in Blake's Illustrated Genesis Manuscript* by Piloo Nanavutty. He claims that a comparison of the two title-pages of this MS., now in the Huntington Library, unifies 'the intricate symbolism' of Blake's *Genesis* into 'an organic whole'.

The Crown Classics edition of selected poems by Robert Bloomfield¹⁵ includes, besides an appreciative introduction by Roland Gant, most of what is best worth having of Bloomfield's

¹⁴ *Job, Invented and Engraved by William Blake*. Introductory Note by Kenneth Patchen. New York: United Book Guild. London: Falcon Press. 21s.

¹⁵ *Robert Bloomfield, A Selection of Poems*, ed. by Roland Gant. Grey Walls Press. pp. 62. 3s. 6d.

work. The volume forms a welcome addition to this valuable series.

Similar praise is due to Ruthven Todd's selections from Christopher Smart,¹⁶ a greater poet, and one who is only nowadays fully known and appreciated. The extracts from *Jubilate Agno*, first printed in 1939, will serve to introduce that extraordinary and inspired work to many to whom it has not hitherto been accessible. It is, as the editor says, 'one of the most moving poems of its time, as well as one of the most valuable documents we possess about the learning and background of an eighteenth-century poet'. *A Song to David* is given in its entirety and there are various other examples of Smart's writings.

William Lytton Page has utilized the Facsimile Text Society's twenty-two volume edition of Defoe's *Review* to make what justly 'purports to be the first systematic gleaning . . . to discover the nature of Defoe's opinions upon four subjects: authorship, journalism, economics and social relationships'.¹⁷ It was thought that it might also be of interest to collect all 'the autobiographical items scattered through the *Review*'. Accordingly Page's volume comprises five main chapters, viz. Mr. Review: Self-Portrait, Author, Journalist, Economist, Counsellor and Guide, together with Notes, Bibliography and Index. 'Besides the subjects here considered, there are others to be explored', e.g. those connected with political history, the war with France and the great soldiers and admirals who took part in it, Church history and 'material upon the formation of the Union'. But Page has done very thoroughly the work he undertook, with the result that his 'portrait of Mr. Review the journalist' is more lifelike and authentic than anything previously produced. His method is as far as possible to quote directly or to incorporate in his own account the actual words of the *Review*, so that the portrait presented is what it claims to be, namely that of the journalist, irrespective of different opinions Defoe may have expressed elsewhere either in private or in his published work.

So exhaustive a study of the *Review* was not possible until the

¹⁶ *A Song to David and other Poems*, by Christopher Smart, ed. Ruthven Todd. Grey Walls Press. pp. 58. 3s. 6d.

¹⁷ *Mr. Review: Daniel Defoe as Author of 'The Review'*, by William Lytton Page. New York: King's Crown Press and O.U.P. pp. x+148. \$2.25 and 16s.

Facsimile Society reprint of 1938 became available, and Page is to be congratulated upon the results of his investigation. His promise to publish a complete index to the *Review* would in any case have aroused the interest of scholars, but the use already made by him of his material whets the appetite for further results of his investigations.

In *J.E.G.P.* (April) Thomas B. Stroup has a note on *Gay's Mohocks and Milton*, in which he traces Miltonic influence on the thought and style of the play.

P.M.L.A. (March) contains an article by Austin Wright on *The Veracity of Spence's Anecdotes* in which he concludes from a detailed examination of particular examples that the *Anecdotes* 'may be accepted as on the whole a veracious record of what the compiler actually heard'.

Z. S. Fink contributes an essay on *Political Theory* in 'Gulliver's Travels' to *E.L.H.* (June) in which he shows that it is an error to interpret the book 'exclusively as a Tory satire on the Whigs'. Swift was attacking party strife in general as a danger to the state. His 'notions on political deteriorationism and its correctives were, like several other aspects of his thought, specifically in the classical tradition'.

Irvin Ehrenpreis contributes details concerning *Swift's Father* (*N. & Q.*, 15 Nov.) which he has discovered in the P.R.O., Dublin, in the Genealogical Office, Dublin, and in the *Black Book* of the King's Inn, Dublin.

He also has an article on *Swift and Mr. John Temple* in *M.L.N.* (March). John Temple, son of Sir William, drowned himself shortly before Swift joined the Temple household, and Ehrenpreis suggests that 'one of the main elements in the relationship between Swift and Temple was the paternal sentiment' which the bereaved father transferred from his dead son to the young secretary.

R. H. Griffith collates *Two Editions of Swift's 'Contests', 1701* (*N. & Q.*, 22 March) thus establishing the existence of two issues of the pamphlet.

Rae Blanchard publishes *Another Steele Letter*, not included in her edition of the *Correspondence* in *R.E.S.* (April), which she describes as 'a small but interesting segment in the story of Addison and Steele's friendship and their involved financial arrangements

with each other'. Her account justifies her conclusion that the letter, in spite of its brevity, 'is of considerable interest, and opens up several new paths for investigation'.

Pierre Courtines (*Revue de Littérature Comparée*, July–Sept.) has a long note on *Bayle, Hume and Berkeley* in which he examines the connexion between the French writer and the two British philosophers. He concludes that Hume's debt to Bayle is irrefutably proved and that Berkeley also made good use of Bayle's *Dictionnaire*.

E. W. Meyerstein announces and comments upon the discovery of a Chatterton manuscript (*T.L.S.*, 27 Dec.) which has been secured for the Bristol Central Library by 'the vigilance of Mr. James Ross, Bristol City Librarian, and the generosity of F.W.S.'

R. W. Ketton-Cremer (*T.L.S.*, 29 March) writes on *A Letter to Mrs. West &c. on the Education of her Son*, dated 12 January 1739 and discovered by him in the Miscellany entitled *Collectanea Curiosa*, Oxford, 1781, ed. Gutch.

Rariora (*T.L.S.*, 5 July) refers to the exhibition in Winchester College Library of books, papers and other material connected with Gray and Collins preserved at Eton and Winchester.

M.L.N. (Feb.) contains a note by H. W. Starr on *Trumbull and Gray's 'Bard'* in which the influence of that poem on the American satirist is examined. He has a similar note on Trumbull's indebtedness to *The Progress of Poetry*, *N. & Q.*, 14 June.

A Book Once Belonging to Gray (a copy of Pococke's translation of *Philosophus Autodidactus*) in possession of the Keats-Shelley Memorial House in Rome, is described by Sergio Baldi, *N. & Q.* (15 Nov.).

On Dr. Johnson's Fear of Death (*E.L.H.*, Dec.), a study by J. H. Hagstrum examines the causes for Johnson's belief that 'no rational man can die without uneasy apprehension'. This was based on the doctrine of conditional salvation, and was the cornerstone of Johnson's morality.

Johnson's Plan is the title of a leading article in *T.L.S.* (17 May) which discusses a pamphlet (not received for notice in *Y.W.*) by John E. W. Wallis on *Dr. Johnson and his English Dictionary*. This shows that 'the proposed scope of the Dictionary . . . included

ideals of truth and beauty as well as of education, of conduct and belief'.

In *R.E.S.* (July) W. K. Wimsatt, Jr., has a note on *Johnson and Electricity*, which exemplifies his 'topical opportunism' as an essayist, since he uses the phrase 'electrifying' in the *Rambler*, 118, and 'wheels of electricity' in *Rambler*, 199, though the word *electrify* is not known in English before 1745 and was not popularized before the appearance of Franklin's *Experiments and Observations* in 1751.

In *N. & Q.* (1 Nov.) R. W. C. writes on 'W. Sharp, junior', *A Disciple of Isaac Watts*, to whom a letter from Johnson was addressed, not, as stated by Boswell, to Dilly.

Boswell's Interviews with Gottsched and Gellert are described (*J.E.G.P.*, July) by Daniel V. B. Hegeman according to Boswell's own accounts in his *Tour of the German Courts (Private Papers, Vol. III)*.

Edmund Burke's Empire (T.L.S., 20 Dec.) is a tribute to Burke's political thought which is shown to be 'based on the humanities and the individual spirit'. Though he made mistakes, 'fewer than most people in public life', they 'seem not to lessen Burke's sway. He is

*Never so sure our rapture to create
As when he treads the brink of all we hate.'*

In *R.E.S.* (Jan.) Ian A. Gordon gives a detailed account of *Shenstone's Miscellany*, a manuscript notebook in the poet's writing which is now in the Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, and is being for the first time prepared for publication by the author of this article. Gordon tells the history of the MS. in so far as he has been able to trace it and lists the poems contained in the notebook which form 'a sort of anthology of the Shenstone circle'.

To *P.M.L.A.* (Dec.) T. C. Duncan Eaves contributes a brief account of *Edward Burney's Illustrations to 'Evelina'*, one of which, on the title-page of Vol. II, is reproduced.

A. D. Atkinson notes (*T.L.S.*, 25 Jan.) a borrowing by Goldsmith, in his *Life of Richard Nash*, from Letter VI of Defoe's *Tour through England and Wales*.

In a note on *Henry Needler's Knowledge of Shaftesbury* (*M.L.N.*, April) Alfred O. Aldridge concludes that the 'possibility of Shaftesbury's influence cannot be discarded'.

'*A Severe Animadversion on Bossu*' (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.) is an explanation by Loyd Douglas of the decline in reputation of Le Bossu as represented by the words of the title of the article—a quotation from Joseph Warton's footnote to Chapter XV of Pope's *Peri Bathous* (1797). Douglas shows that whatever the change in Warton's own opinion of Le Bossu, he was not justified in attributing to Pope any intention of depreciating the French critic. 'Pope was primarily ridiculing Blackmore' and 'there is no good reason for supposing he . . . developed any serious doubts as to Le Bossu's general soundness and reliability' in his theories concerning epic poetry.

In an essay entitled *The Association of Ideas and Akenside's 'Pleasures of Imagination'* (*M.L.N.*, March) Martin Kallich shows that the psychological theory of the association of ideas was already well known in 1744, the date of Akenside's publication, and that the poet was giving it literary expression. 'The association of ideas is as fundamental to his concept of the imagination as it is to Hobbes's philosophy of the fancy.'

Ernest A. Payne contributes a letter to *T.L.S.* (31 May) on *Tom Paine: Preacher*, in which he refutes certain statements about Paine's teaching and preaching activities in Woodward's *Tom Paine: America's Godfather* (*Y.W.*, xxvii, 211).

Humanitarian Literature, with special reference to *Progenitors of Black Beauty*, is dealt with in *N. & Q.* (19 April, 3, 17, 31 May).

Two important examinations of the theories of tragic pleasure held in the eighteenth century should be noted. The first, by Baxter Hathaway (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.) is entitled *The Lucretian 'Return upon Ourselves' in Eighteenth-Century Theories of Tragedies* and attempts only 'to look at the significant life-span of one idea', the Lucretian 'return upon ourselves', and the manner and extent of its adaptation to new situations. The critics were concerned with the problem of the pleasure derived from the observation of human distress 'while in the danger you share not yourself,' and its bearing

on the enjoyment of tragedy. Hathaway discusses some of their remarks on the subject. The second essay (*E.L.H.*, Dec.), *The Pleasures of Tragedy*, is by Earl R. Wasserman and deals more generally with the sources of pleasure in the dramatization of painful and repellent actions and the attempt by eighteenth-century writers to 'adjust the problem . . . to contemporary philosophy and psychology.'

In *Personification Reconsidered* (*E.L.H.*, Sept.) Bertrand H. Bronson establishes from a comparison of *Lycidas* and Johnson's elegy on the death of Dr. Levett, the need for modern criticism 'to try by imaginative sympathy and understanding' to allow for the eighteenth-century aesthetic response to general statements and to abstractions. For eighteenth-century poets 'personal statements gained force, conviction, vaster horizons, when lifted to the plateau of the general consensus', whereas the present-day 'shift of sensibility' produces insensitivity 'to the *emotional* appeal of a general statement'.

The Eternal Fitness of Things: An Aspect of Eighteenth-Century Thought is discussed by A. R. Humphreys in *M.L.R.* (April) who traces the 'intellectualist' movement from Cudworth and Clarke until its culmination in the works of Godwin.

In *First Follow Nature*¹⁸ it was Margaret Fitzgerald's intention 'to untangle the strands of primitivism in English poetry between the years 1725 and 1750'. 'The first section of this study surveys the strains of chronological and cultural primitivism to be found in the poets' verses'; 'the second section deals with the poets' use of Nature as a guide to their literary, aesthetic and ethical judgments', while 'the Epilogue brings together those conclusions indicated throughout the book about the primitivism of the major writers, Thomson, Young, Akenside, Pope, Gray and the Wartons'. Miss Fitzgerald's book is obviously the result of enthusiastic industry and it proves the width of her reading as well as her competence to deal with the material she has collected. That she does not succeed in adding anything very new or original to established points of view is no adverse comment on her work, the main value of which consists precisely in the wealth of illustration by which accepted opinions may be confirmed. But she does not wholly

¹⁸ *First Follow Nature: Primitivism in English Poetry, 1725-50*, by Margaret M. Fitzgerald. New York: King's Crown Press and O.U.P. pp. xii + 270. 16s.

escape the dangers inherent in a scheme which confines investigation to so brief a period and so limited a subject. Notes, Bibliography and Index complete a scholarly study.

In his study of *Swift*¹⁹ Bernard Acworth is chiefly concerned with the Dean's character as portrayed in his ironical self-description in the poem *On the Death of Dr. Swift*. More particularly Acworth is interested in Swift's position 'as an ordained clergyman of the Church of England' and as a believing Christian. This he endeavours to discover by reference to Swift's writings, giving copious 'extracts from his Works in order to bring his mind and character . . . to the touchstone . . . of truth'.

The book may thus serve as a useful anthology, especially of less well-known passages from Swift. But Acworth is so violent a partisan that his defence of his protagonist may often antagonize the reader even when it is most justified, nor does he serve his purpose by immoderate attacks on those who have maligned his hero. Thus it is silly to assert that 'Johnson was largely invented by the humble Boswell' or to describe Macaulay as a 'crooked time server' or to talk of Thackeray's 'monumental example of abusive fiction'.

Hermathena (May) contains extracts from a lecture by H. O. White on *The Art of Swift*. These disconnected paragraphs deal with Swift's verse, which is described summarily as the 'by-product of a great prose writer', though Swift is 'most certainly' a poet, 'but not a great one'; with his allegory as displayed in *The Tale of a Tub* and *Gulliver's Travels* and with his style. As allegory, White unhesitatingly places *Gulliver* first of the two works considered because the protagonist, as 'a very ordinary human figure who is not allegorical at all' enables the reader to take his adventures seriously, and the writer to produce 'a traveller's tale of wonder and delight' while making his satirical survey of the follies of mankind. Precision and force are the qualities which White particularly praises in Swift's prose style, the perfect medium for the transmission of his thought.

M. P. Willcocks in her *Life of Henry Fielding*²⁰ attempts to re-

¹⁹ *Swift*, by Bernard Acworth. Eyre & Spottiswoode. pp. xx + 250. 15s.

²⁰ *A True-Born Englishman, being the Life of Henry Fielding*, by M. P. Willcocks. Allen & Unwin. pp. 288. 15s.

interpret him to the present generation as *A True-Born Englishman*, 'one of the most typical Englishmen who ever lived'. Her book is not therefore primarily critical though to a large extent Fielding's character is deduced from a study of his writings. But Miss Willcocks is in the main concerned with the man himself and the story of his life as playwright, novelist, magistrate and social reformer seen against the background of the age in and by which it was shaped. Her study succeeds in showing how near are Fielding's values to those of our own day in so far as his dealings are with 'human nature' and the presentation of the world as it is and as he sees it. What is lacking is what she calls 'any sense of the strange mystery of existence, any feeling of the *Oh! Altitudo*'. In fact, 'he was so intent on the face of the Sphinx that he forgot the depths of the sky behind it'. But that admitted, how much remains for admiration in the breadth of vision, common sense, humorous insight into motive and psychology, absence of pose, hatred of the pompous, compassion and tolerance for human weakness and love of mankind which are united in every expression of his genius. 'In the novel is enshrined the mind of Henry Fielding, a man greater and more generous than any of his characters', all of whom come, so he tells us, from 'the doomsday book of authentic Human Nature'. Miss Willcocks adds justly: 'Through things temporal Fielding passed, but held with a sure hand the things eternal.'

Her estimate is dependable and just, but the style and composition are not always easy and the book is marred by printers' errors and sometimes by careless slips, e.g. on p. 15 where Parson Adams is said to play his part in *Tom Jones*.

Elizabeth Jenkins in her slighter and more popular contribution²¹ produces in this respect a more successful volume and one which is distinguished by its good writing. Proportionately Miss Jenkins pays more attention to Fielding's works than to his biography and background, but she nevertheless contrives to produce a vivid sense of his personality and of the times in which he lived. Her book justifies the publishers' claim that their series of *English Novelists* will provide 'lively and vital contributions to the library of criticism'.

Henry Fielding and the Writers of Heroic Romance (P.M.L.A.,

²¹ *Henry Fielding*, by Elizabeth Jenkins. Home and Van Thal. pp. 102. 6s.

Dec.) is an investigation by Arthur L. Cooke of the novelist's indebtedness to romance writers in which he shows that many of the principles incorporated in the theory of the comic prose epic are similar to theirs. Cooke suggests that Fielding, like the romance writers, went back to the critical ideas concerning the classic epic and 'that in drawing from this common source, he independently deduced many of the principles they had enunciated a century before'. But while 'Mlle de Scudéry and Henry Fielding enunciated principles which were in many respects almost identical, yet there is certainly little resemblance between *The Grand Cyrus* and *Tom Jones*', since there had been 'a gradual development of different concepts of the same critical terms'.

The Literary Relationship of Thackeray and Fielding (J.E.G.P., Oct.) by Eva Beach Tonster, attempts an explanation of the blend of admiration and disapproval in Thackeray's attitude towards his predecessor. While he deliberately emulated Fielding's 'frank portrayal of life', 'the intellectual and moral atmosphere of Victorian England was a conditioning factor in Thackeray's art, and in his practice of the novel he was shaped by it'. He was hampered by contemporary literary standards and his realism consequently suffered.

Fred Boege makes a thorough investigation of *Smollett's Reputation as a Novelist*²² without any attempt at a personal estimate of his achievement or reference to either his life or influence. Within the limits set, Boege's study appears to cover the whole ground and it proves the vicissitudes to which Smollett's reputation has been subject, and that these serve to enlighten the reader about the changes that have taken place in literary criticism.

The only important omission we have noted in Boege's bibliography is that of *The Later Career of Tobias Smollett* by Louis L. Martz (Y.W., xxiii, 176-7)—a major work of criticism of recent date (1942).

The Fifth Commandment: some Allusions to Sir Robert Filmer's Writings in 'Tristram Shandy' (M.L.N., April) is an examination by Wilfred Watson of the question of authority and obedience to

²² *Smollett's Reputation as a Novelist*, by Fred W. Boege. Princeton Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. viii + 176. 16s.

authority as interpreted by Sterne's characters, who had formed their opinions under the influence of Filmer's writings.

Revue de Littérature Comparée (April-June) contains an examination by D. M. Lang of the influence of Sterne on Alexander Radishchev in his *Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow*, 1790. Though the Russian's purpose was entirely different since he wrote as a social reformer, there is no doubt that the form of his work derived from the *Sentimental Journey* which he had read in the German translation of 1768.

The new biography of *Sheridan* by Lewis Gibbs,²³ painstaking and satisfactory as it is, does not appear to add anything material to the study of Crompton Rhodes (*Harlequin Sheridan*, Y.W., 1933, 295), nor does it go further in the direction of literary or dramatic criticism though the writer had not a similar reason for the comparative omission since he has published no editions of the plays, embodying his opinions in critical prefaces. But it is true that Sheridan's plays were completed in five years and that after *The Critic* in 1779 he produced nothing of importance, though he lived until 1816 and was prominent as manager of Drury Lane, as politician and as one of the most attractive personalities of the age. Thus in a well-proportioned account of his life, there is perhaps reason to subordinate his dramatic work to his other activities, though to do so must result in neglect of what has proved his chief claim to remembrance.

Gibbs succeeds in evoking the charm of Sheridan as a man, and in making the reader realize the causes of his failure to attain the place to which his genius entitled him. The biography is eminently readable and it is based on both understanding and knowledge of the facts.

An Attempted Piracy of 'The Duenna' is described by Howard P. Vincent (*M.L.N.*, April).

In a note (*M.L.N.*, March) on *Lord Chesterfield* and '*Decorum*' Melvin R. Watson shows the unaccepted use made by Chesterfield of the term, which he employs as the English equivalent for the French '*les mœurs*'.

The Library (June) contains a reprint of a lecture delivered on 17 January at Smith College., Mass. by W. S. Lewis entitled *Horace*

²³ *Sheridan*, by Lewis Gibbs. Dent. pp. viii + 280. 15s.

Walpole's Library. Lewis concludes that 'A catalogue of the books at Strawberry Hill would be a biography of Horace Walpole', for the 7,500 volumes, as he shows, present a clearer view than is usually obtained 'of the ambitions, over-sensitive, long-suffering, far-sighted, and witty man who made the library'. It is good to know that such a catalogue has long been in course of preparation though it is still far from completion. This is not surprising when we learn what it is to contain in addition to the titles, e.g. a description of the furniture and fittings of the library and of the arrangement and 'migrations' of the books, and an account of the owner's marginalia and annotations. 'The library was primarily a "working" library not a sentimental one. The books Walpole "collected" were . . . brought together to assist him in the grand project of his life, which was to transmit to posterity a true picture of his time.'

In *T.L.S.* (24 May) is a leading article on *Horace Walpole* relating to the bi-centenary of the acquisition of Strawberry Hill. There is a letter on *Walpole* by Sheila Radice in *T.L.S.* (21 June).

According to the blurb, Northrop Frye, a Canadian scholar, sets out in *Fearful Symmetry: A Study of William Blake*²⁴ to provide 'a clear and complete solution to the longer poems. If the nature of this task precludes success, it is at least true, as is also claimed, that the book 'carries us further toward an understanding of [Blake's] work than any previous study'. It is not possible to make Blake's myth easily or completely comprehensible even to those prepared to exert their 'Intellectual powers' while believing in the pre-eminence of Imagination over Understanding. As Frye himself contends, the reader must exert his capacity to the utmost in order to discover meaning in Blake's visionary prophecies. What Frye achieves is success in indicating the path that must be followed by seekers for illumination. His book is not, and could not have been made, easy reading: for that the subject is too difficult. For a similar reason it is not possible to summarize the contents briefly.

Blake's 'Allegory addressed to the Intellectual Powers' is shown to symbolize the ultimate supremacy of the Creative Imagination

²⁴ *Fearful Symmetry: A Study of William Blake*, by Northrop Frye. Princeton Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. viii + 462. \$5; 25s.

which alone can help towards the interpretation of life and the perception of divinity. 'There is such a thing as an iconography of the imagination', and according to Blake's doctrine 'to recognize the existence of a total form of vision' would be 'a return to essential critical principles that should never have been lost sight of'. 'The great value of Blake is that he insists so urgently on the question of an imaginative iconography, and forces us to learn so much of its grammar in reading him.'

There are minor errors in Frye's book which call for correction, e.g. the spelling *Dionysius* (for *Dionysus*) in both index and text, and slips in writing which occasionally interfere with the sense. But such occasional faults cannot prevent recognition of the solid contribution made by the author to the interpretation of his subject.

The Marriage of Blake's Parents by H. M. Margoliouth (*N. & Q.*, 6 Sept.) gives the date and place, not previously known.

Six contemporary Scottish writers in *Robert Burns*²⁵ attempt in their essays to present an objective and reasoned account of the poet's achievement and to estimate his 'position in world literature' unbiassed by 'the myth which has been woven around [his] life and work'. Thus Edwin Muir in his account of *The Burns Myth* maintains that 'the myth is unlike the man, but the man was its basis'. George Bruce in his *Burns—A Comparative View* interestingly illustrates 'the isolation and privacy of the society from which and for which he wrote' and 'its literary resistance to the outside world' as contrasted with the medieval conditions which produced e.g. the work of Henryson and Dunbar, or the surroundings which influenced English eighteenth-century writers, eg. Blake. Burns, who lived 'in a limited society where personal relations were inevitable, expresses what is nearer to a norm of general experience than perhaps anyone else has done'. J. F. Hendry in *We, Robert Burns* also shows that 'the many facets of the genius that was Burns . . . all lead eventually towards the people of Scotland'. J. D. Scott examines *The Clarinda Letters* afresh while the editor, W. Montgomerie, looks at *Tam o' Shanter* from an unusual angle. J. B. Pick in a wider study of *The Poetry of Robert Burns* concludes that it is his peculiar merit to unite the

²⁵ *New Judgments, Robert Burns: Essays by Six Contemporary Writers*, ed. William Montgomerie. W. Maclellan. pp. 84. 6s.

characteristics of man and poet and to live and write of Life in all its bearings.

In addition to the usual commemoration celebrations the *Burns Annual and Chronicle*²⁶ contains a reprint from the original of the letter to James Clarke (17 Feb. 1792), since 1946 in the possession of the Alloway Burns Monument Trustees. 'It is No. 499 in the Clarendon Press edition of the *Letters*, with note "MS. not traced".' Among other articles,* the volume also contains one on *Burns and Freemasonry in Edinburgh* by R. T. Halliday and another on *Stothard's Illustrations of Burns* by J. C. Ewing.

The Publication of Hannah More's First Play, 'A Search after Happiness', is shown to have been 1773 by Chester L. Shaver in *M.L.N.* (May).

Mary Wollstonecraft, Analytical Reviewer, is discussed (*P.M. L.A. Dec.*) by Ralph M. Wardle, who describes how 'in the course of her work for the *Analytical* Mary seems to have found an idol of her own sex, a fearless courage, and a fighting faith'.

In her interesting dissertation on *Joseph Priestley and the Problem of Pantisocracy*²⁷ Mary C. Park solves the riddle that must often have puzzled critics as to why Coleridge and his friends pitched on the banks of the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania as the place for their projected settlement, and whether they were simply attracted by the fine-sounding name. She now shows conclusively that Priestley, the persecuted friend of liberty, had already secured land and founded a pioneer society in that region so that it was only natural that the young pantisocratists, whose plans were modelled upon his, should wish to settle in the same neighbourhood. They were doubtless stimulated by Thomas Cooper's handbook, *Some Information Respecting America*, which described Priestley's pioneer venture, pleaded the cause of liberty and gave practical instructions for starting similar settlements. The reference to Priestley in Coleridge's *Poems on Various Subjects*,

²⁶ *The Robert Burns Annual and Chronicle*. Kilmarnock: The Burns Federation. pp. viii + 139. Paper 2s. 6d. Cloth 4s.

²⁷ *Joseph Priestley and the Problem of Pantisocracy*, by Mary Cathryne Park. Philadelphia Univ. Press. pp. iv + 60.

1796, pp. 164-5, makes it clear that he was the prime inspirer of the young poets and their friends:

*Him from his native land
Statesmen, blood-stain'd and priests idolatrous,
By dark lies madd'ning the blind multitude,
Drove with vain hate; calm, pitying he retir'd,
And mus'd expectant on these promis'd years.*

'Fortunately for the original proposers', wrote Joseph Priestley, Jr., in the *Continuation* of his father's *Memoirs*, 'the scheme was abandoned'.

Miss Park's account of Priestley's contribution to the cause of civil and religious freedom does full justice to the character and ideals of the pioneer thinker who in his own day met with nothing but vituperation and ill treatment.

The Later Women Novelists, 1744-1818,²⁸ is a sequel to *Women Writers, 1621-1744*, which was published in 1944 (*Y.W.*, xxvi, 8), and was originally intended to form the second part of a work that was to have been called *The Female Pen*, a title 'which may now be taken to indicate both volumes'. In them B. G. MacCarthy examines the contribution of women writers to the development of the English novel. The present book is divided into chapters dealing respectively with the Oriental Novel; The Novel of Sentiment and of Sensibility; The Domestic Novel; The Novel of Manners; The Gothic Novel; The Didactic Novel; and Jane Austen. These headings suffice to indicate the range and scope of Miss MacCarthy's study of 'the women who not merely contributed to the development of English fiction, but who had to fight for their right to contribute'. She writes as their partisan and concludes that 'the nearer fiction came towards their characteristic outlook and subject-matter, the nearer it came to reality'. Miss MacCarthy displays wide knowledge and appears to have read and digested everything that bears even remotely on her theme. But her learning does not dim her humour nor destroy her judgment and sense of proportion, so that it is a pleasure to read what it has obviously given her so much pleasure to write.

²⁸ *The Later Women Novelists, 1744-1818*, by B. G. MacCarthy. Cork Univ. Press and Blackwell. pp. 296. 10s. 6d.

Edith R. Curtis has used the biography of *Lady Sarah Lennox*²⁹ as a focus for 'social and political life in the late eighteenth century', and succeeds in portraying a lively picture of both her protagonist and the society in which she lived. The reader may not share the author's whole-hearted warmth of feeling for Lady Sarah and her chequered career, but at least he will be made to realize that her failings were as much the product of her surroundings as of her character, and that it would have required more than ordinary strength to withstand the temptations which confronted her. In the words of the blurb: 'Seldom has any woman in her position so flown in the face of public opinion or lived through and lived down so fierce a blaze of publicity.' The book itself suffers from similar over-emphasis and exaggeration in style.

Mary M. Tarr has written a learned dissertation³⁰ in which she examines the treatment of Catholic materials 'drawn from liturgical and non-liturgical worship, monastic and conventual life' in the 306 available volumes of 'Gothic' fiction. Her treatment of her subject is both scholarly and serious, but it is relieved by a pleasant sense of humour and lightness of style which contribute to the reader's enjoyment of what might easily have become another example of pedestrian academic 'research'. Sister Mary's appreciation of the truly Gothic ignorance revealed by the novelists prevents any danger of pedantry on her part and results in a genuine contribution to knowledge. She is able to prove her contention that the writers of the novels were not only completely unversed in Catholic dogma and practice, but that their descriptions of conventual life and worship were ultimately based upon current theories of the sublime derived from Burke, and that 'Catholicism functions in Gothic fiction chiefly as a source of "melancholy pleasure", "divine horror" and "religious awe"'. 'It is significant that the criterion by which the holiness of religious characters is measured . . . is the standard of Shaftesburian benevolence', and as a final summary of her investigations: 'Gothic fiction . . . by its treatment of Catholic materials, becomes a literature that reflects

²⁹ *Lady Sarah Lennox*, by Edith Roelker Curtis. W. H. Allen. pp. viii + 278. 10s. 6d.

³⁰ *Catholicism in Gothic Fiction: A Study of the Nature and Function of Catholic Materials in Gothic Fiction in England, 1762-1820*, by Sister Mary Muriel Tarr. Catholic Univ. of America Press. 1946. pp. viii + 142.

... three main currents of eighteenth-century thought: the natural religion of Deism, the natural morality of Shaftesburian ethic, and the sublime of Burkean aesthetic.'

The Sympathetic Imagination in Eighteenth-Century Theories of Acting by Earl R. Wasserman (J.E.G.P., July) establishes the growth of understanding of the creative function and the place occupied by imagination in its development.

In *The Background and Development in English Criticism of the Thoughts of Generality and Particularity* (P.M.L.A., March) Scott Elledge discusses the precise significance of the well-known 'tulip' passage in *Rasselas* and its bearing on Johnson's later praise of Thomson's *Seasons* for its attention to minute particulars. The paper covers much of the history of literary and aesthetic criticism during the eighteenth century.

In M.L.N. (June) R. W. Babcock gives a useful list of references to the use of the related terms *Benevolence, Sensibility and Sentiment in Some Eighteenth-Century Periodicals*. He has a similar note, N. & Q. (8 March), on *Genius, Imagination and Enthusiasm in Some Late Eighteenth-Century Periodicals*. Cf. a note by F. Amphlett Micklewright, N. & Q., 12 July.

The Pendulum (T.L.S., 7 June) is in the main a review of Geoffrey Grigson's *Before the Romantics* (Y.W., xxvii, 192) though it discusses more generally the 'swing of popular judgment and the call for its frequent modification'.

Newton's *Principia* is more famous than the *Opticks* but, as Marjorie H. Nicolson shows by her discriminating examination in *Newton Demands the Muse*,⁸¹ it was the English work and his theories of light and colour which chiefly influenced poets, especially in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, from the date of his death in 1727 onwards. Miss Nicholson traces this influence in 'all available material', inspired and uninspired; she cites numerous examples and refers to many passages she does not actually quote. She displays wide knowledge of both literature and philosophy, and provides all the necessary apparatus of scholarship. But she is gifted with humour and lightness of touch as well

⁸¹ *Newton Demands the Muse: Newton's 'Opticks' and the Eighteenth Century Poets*, by Marjorie Hope Nicolson. Princeton Univ. Press, 1946 O.U.P., 1947. pp. xii + 178. 11s. 6d.

as possessed of learning, so that her book is as entertaining as it is informative.

'With Newtonian eyes, the poets discovered new beauties in the most familiar aspects of nature, which had always been the stuff of poetry; in individual colors seen through the prism, in the rainbow, in sunrise and sunset, in the succession of colors throughout the day. There entered into eighteenth-century descriptive poetry what might be called a "symbolism of the spectrum".'

Here is her main theme. 'Newton . . . gave colour back to the poets and . . . flooded the world with light' and 'though their study of Newton poets came to look upon nature with new eyes and to develop a descriptive poetry different from that of earlier generations.' Miss Nicolson is however careful to emphasize that 'Poets after all are poets; even the most scientific versifiers are not scientists, the most philosophical poets not philosophers' and that while 'poets, philosophers, scientists may visit each other's countries of the mind with pleasure and profit', there is a possibility, exemplified by many of the eighteenth-century writers, that too frequent overstepping of the boundaries may result in expatriation from both. In her final chapter, entitled 'The Poetic Damnation of Newton', Miss Nicolson shows how Blake uttered his anathema untiringly, but that it may be questioned whether he 'could have hated Newton so heartily had he not responded to him more than he was willing to admit'. However this may be, she is successful in a work which is to be recommended from every point of view.

Refracted Light (T.L.S., 13 Sept.) is an article which owes its inspiration to the same topic as that treated by Miss Nicolson, to whose 'quest of the influence of science on imaginative writers' it refers.

In an article in *Life and Letters* (Feb.) on *Edward Young and the Concept of Space*, Jack Lindsay attempts a re-estimate of Young's work by relating his ideas to the new scientific developments which were undermining neo-classical and static standards. 'He irrupted with a many-sided violence into the rococo situation and the mechanistic attitudes founded on the Newtonian reduction.' 'His effect was European', but Young's own successes were partial and momentary, not sustained.

Katharine A. R. Kenyon in her pamphlet on *Benjamin Franklin*

at *Twyford*⁸² revises and enlarges a paper which has already appeared in the *Hampshire Chronicle* (April 1946). The essay is a rather amateurish historical account of the district in which Franklin makes only sporadic appearance, but Miss Kenyon writes with obvious piety and is also well served by her illustrator, Louis Thomson.

Sir Tresham Lever's Family Chronicle of *The House of Pitt*⁸³ presents a picture of the political and social background rather than of the literature of the eighteenth century, but many of the best-known figures actually appear and the whole scene depicts the milieu in which they played their part. 'The story opens in the reign of Queen Anne, it closes in the early days of Queen Victoria', and during that period the lives of members of *The House of Pitt* were 'bound up to a greater or lesser degree in the historic events of their time'. The tale of this 'strange, eccentric, but brilliant family' is never dull, and Lever's account of the diverse careers of its representatives makes fascinating reading for anyone who is interested in 'the trivialities of life' as well as in momentous historical events. The book is full of information on all sorts of happenings; it is based on documentary evidence and forms an absorbing and well-digested record of a remarkable family.

George Cragg's *Study in Eighteenth-Century Evangelicalism* is⁸⁴ a painstaking attempt to reconstruct the personality and career of William Grimshaw, once known as 'the Apostle of the North', while at the same time showing his place in the history of Evangelicalism and illustrating its importance in the revival of the spiritual influence of the Church of England during his lifetime. Grimshaw became parson of Haworth in 1742. During his incumbency the number of regular communicants multiplied a hundredfold and 'he transformed the parish and the district round by his apostolic activities', and this at a period which has been described as 'the Glacial Epoch in our Church History'.

The relationship between Methodists and Evangelicals is shown

⁸² *Benjamin Franklin at Twyford*, by Katharine M. R. Kenyon. Winchester: Warren. pp. 16. 1s.

⁸³ *The House of Pitt: A Family Chronicle*, by Tresham Lever, Bt. Murray. pp. xii + 378. 21s.

⁸⁴ *Grimshaw of Haworth: A Study in Eighteenth Century Evangelicalism*, by George G. Cragg. Canterbury Press. pp. 128. 6s.

as well as Grimshaw's own approach to worship and the text of his 'creed' and 'longer covenant'.

Cragg's little book, with a foreword by the Bishop of Carlisle, is a real contribution to the history of the Evangelical movement, with all the early aspects of which it deals faithfully.

G. E. Fussell's *Village Life in the Eighteenth Century*³⁵ presents a brief but well-authenticated account of the appearance and social conditions of English villages, and of the work and lives of their inhabitants at the period. The twelve chapters touch on every aspect—geography, government, home-life, social intercourse, farming and trade, while well-selected illustrations illuminate the text. There are also 'suggestions for further reading' for those who desire it. A great amount of acceptable information is packed into small space, but the style and sometimes the grammar are so poor that they lessen the reader's interest in what would otherwise be an attractive book.

The title of Wilma L. Kennedy's thesis³⁶ sufficiently indicates its scope. Her purpose is to justify Coleridge's assertion that 'all the elements' of his differentiation between Imagination and Fancy existed in his mind before he had 'ever seen a book of German Metaphysics'. Miss Kennedy proves her case by a detailed examination of English thinkers with whose work Coleridge was familiar. Berkeley had overthrown the conception of understanding as the highest power of the mind: his tenets of idealism already provided 'a basis for a theory of the imagination as individual as Blake's'. 'Hume challenged the right of the understanding to dominate imagination'; William Collins insisted on the importance of creativeness; Reynolds recognized '“a kind of intuition” by which the man of imagination is guided'. Thus eighteenth-century Englishmen had already anticipated Coleridge's 'distinction between the power that creates and the power that joins', and whatever stimulus he may afterwards have gained from German thought, he had no need to seek elsewhere than in the work of his

³⁵ *Village Life in the Eighteenth Century*, by G. E. Fussell. Worcester: Littlebury. pp. 84. 9s. 6d.

³⁶ *The English Heritage of Coleridge of Bristol, 1798: The Basis in Eighteenth-Century Thought for his Distinction between Imagination and Fancy*, by Wilma L. Kennedy. Yale Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xii + 104. 14s.

own countrymen the starting-points for his theory of the 'nature of the creative imagination'.

Miss Kennedy works out her thesis with discrimination and displays her mastery of her subject, but her method of presentation somewhat detracts from her main purpose in that she puts Coleridge's theory too much in the centre of the picture when she purports to be explaining the position of his forerunners.

Erwin Weide's study of Fielding's comedies³⁷ has been received too late for more than a short notice. He succeeds, notwithstanding the superficial likeness, in distinguishing them from Restoration drama in their whole conception. Fielding's experience of life and his attitude to humanity contradict both the cynical opinions of Mandeville and Shaftesbury's faith in reason as a guiding motive to action. Both of these were influences on Restoration drama and its character-drawing. Fielding on the other hand recognized that Man is moved by emotion, that in Hume's words, 'sentiments must touch the heart to make them control our passions'. In a detailed examination of Fielding's comedies, Weide illustrates and substantiates this view and breaks comparatively new ground.

English Literature, 1660-1800: A Current Bibliography by Arthur Friedman and Louis A. Landa is reprinted from the April issue of *P.Q.* and well deserved to be made more easily accessible. Its fifty pages 'list the more significant books, articles and reviews published during the year 1946' and give brief reviews of many of them. The bibliography is sub-divided into six sections and is thus made easy for reference.

³⁷ *Henry Fieldings Komödien und die Restoration Komödien*, by Erwin Weide. Hamburg: Hansischer Gildenverlag, pp. 140. M. 6. 80.

XIII

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

I

By DOROTHY MARGARET STUART

FOR students of the period here to be considered 1947 was a rewarding year. The stream of books which had shrunk to a trickle began once more to flow fast.

Pride of place belongs to Volume Four¹ of the de Selincourt-Darbishire edition of Wordsworth. This, which comprises the remainder of the shorter poems, contains also a large proportion of his later work—the *Evening Voluntaries*, for example, the *Memorials of the Tour of 1833* and the two sonnet sequences, that dedicated to *Liberty and Order* and that dealing with the *Punishment of Death*. Some of his characteristic early work is here, too: the *Poems of Sentiment and Reflection* and *Poems referring to the Period of Old Age*. The great *Immortality* ode stands ‘significantly’, as Helen Darbishire remarks at the end. In Appendix A will be found the surviving portions of his translations of Virgil: and Appendix B is occupied by *Poems and Verses of Various Periods*, either never printed by Wordsworth or omitted by him from the final edition of 1849–50. None of the preceding three volumes excels the fourth in general interest, importance and variety.

The posthumous collection² of Ernest de Selincourt’s essays edited by Helen Darbishire serves only to sharpen regret that we may enjoy no more such gleanings. These essays are mainly concerned with the greater Romantics, Wordsworth, Coleridge and Byron. Those on the Early Wordsworth, and Wordsworth and his Daughter’s Marriage, will be of permanent value to students of his mind and art, while the study of the genesis of *Dejection: an Ode* is of almost equal interest with regard to all three of the Lake

¹ *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*, Vol. IV, ed. by E. de Selincourt and Helen Darbishire. O.U.P. pp. xvi+490. 25s.

² *Wordsworthian and other Studies*, by E. de Selincourt. O.U.P. pp. 206. 12s. 6d.

Poets. An appreciative critique of Landor's prose style and the lecture on Byron delivered from the Oxford Chair of Poetry in 1933 complete the Romantic group.

Helen Darbishire, writing on *Milton and Wordsworth* (*T.L.S.*, 4 Oct.), describes a copy of *Paradise Lost* belonging to Wordsworth in his Cambridge days and presented by his sons to Dr. John Davy. On the first blank page there is, in the poet's handwriting, an eleven-line fragment of a projected poem on Milton. The exact significance of the word 'fretted' in l. 88 of the *Immortality Ode* is discussed by Elizabeth Schneider in the *New York Explicator* (Feb.) In *Wordsworth's Debt to Thomas Newton* (*M.L.N.*, March), C. L. Shaver showed that when writing the *Preface* of 1815 Wordsworth probably had in mind Newton's note upon the passage in which Milton compares Satan to a fleet of merchantmen.

Wordsworth and Milton meet again (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.) in an article by John B. McNulty, *Milton's Influence on Wordsworth's Early Sonnets*. In McNulty's view, Wordsworth had developed independently 'a high order of sonnet' before (in his own words) he 'took fire' from hearing his sister read Milton's sonnets aloud in 1801; but in the long run 'Miltonic characteristics of form' persisted while neither Spenser nor Shakespeare exercised any influence.

Herbert Wright, in a paper on *The Reflection of Wordsworth's Personality in his Choice of French Writers* (*M.L.R.*, Jan.), showed, with the aid of the sale catalogue of the Rydal Mount Library, that, in addition to the obvious names, there were represented some less well-known French writers, among them the Abbé Delille, the Abbé Chaulieu, and Madame Guyon. Through their works 'there runs as a connecting link the love of Nature and of solitude which distinguishes Wordsworth himself'.

George Whalley in (*T.L.S.* 21 June), writing on *Romantic Chasms*, referred back to a recent article by Geoffrey Grigson, who drew attention to a possible connexion between the 'Gothic garden' at Hafod and *Kubla Khan*. Whalley suggested that recollections of Bruce's *Travels*, personal reminiscences of Hafod, and Dorothy Wordsworth's descriptions of the Squire's grounds at Crookham all blended in the subconscious mind of Coleridge when

he was evolving his 'poems in a dream'. The Hafod hypothesis was warmly supported by Keidrych Rhys in a letter headed *Coleridge in Wales* (*T.L.S.*, 16 Aug.)

Whalley was also the writer of an interesting article on *The Mariner and the Albatross* (*U.T.Q.*, July), in which he advanced the theory that, though the *Rime* was not originally intended to be a personal allegory, it later became such in the eyes of the poet himself. The albatross, he says, is 'the Symbol of Coleridge's creative imagination'; the mariner slew the albatross with his cross-bow, and Coleridge, by yielding to opinion, was the slayer of his own most precious gift—inspiration.

Hartley, Pistorius and Coleridge provided Hoxie N. Fairchild with material for an article (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.) designed to show that Coleridge was acquainted with the *Notes and Additions* appended by Andreas Pistorius to his German version of Hartley's *Observations on Man*. A. S. Whitfield contributed to (*T.L.S.* 15 March) some hitherto unpublished lines by Hartley Coleridge *On Mary Fleming*, his 'last nurse'—1826–37.

Bertrand Evans, in *Manfred's Remorse and Dramatic Tradition* (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.) offered a well-documented study of the origins of Byron's *Manfred*. He considers that Byron owed more to the 'Gothic' drama, in which the gloomy and mysterious character can be (and often is) the hero, than to the 'Gothic' novel, in which such a person was almost always the villain.

Philip Daghljan, writing on *Byron's Observations on an article in 'Blackwood's Magazine'* (*R.E.S.*, April), examined the problem of these observations with the aid of the original MS. in the Yale University Library and a single surviving set of page-proofs revised by Byron himself. These were sold with the Spoor collection in 1939.

The outstanding events of the year 1947 were, after the publication of Volume Four of the de Selincourt-Darbishire edition of Wordsworth, the third edition, with revisions and additional letters, of M. Buxton Forman's *Letters of John Keats*³ and the

³ *The Letters of John Keats*, ed. by M. Buxton Forman. 3rd edition, with revisions and additional letters. O.U.P. pp. lxx + 564. 21s.

English edition of Newman Ivey White's two-volume *Shelley*,⁴ published in America in 1941. Rich in detail, wide in scope, ample in annotation, this last is a truly fine achievement, and scholars and students in this country are fortunate in having it brought within their reach. Small typographical and other errors have been corrected, though one trifling lapse—Carleton for Carlton House—remains: and there is an energetic passage in *Postscript*, 1946, on Robert M. Smith's much-criticized book, *The Shelley Legend*. Everything will be found here that can make easier the always baffling task of focusing and fixing Shelley at full length and in some recognizable form. It is curious, however, that White, like Edward Blunden, should omit Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe's prophecy, made in 1811 to Lady Charlotte Bury, that if Shelley were not 'clapped up in Bedlam or hanged' he would prove 'one of the sweetest singers on the tuneful banks of the Cherwell'.

A. M. D. Hughes's elaborate study, *The Nascent Mind of Shelley*,⁵ covers the span from the poet's birth to the spring of 1813, when *Queen Mab* went to press and 'the period of his personal evolution distinctly ends'. Its purpose is to show the high degree of continuity in Shelley's main ideas, and the relevance to his poetry of their 'worth and weight'. To this end the theme has been rather arbitrarily split up into sections, biography, philosophy, psychology, and critical elucidation being subdivided in the manner of striations, with some sacrifice of that very continuity which we are specifically invited to trace. In spite of this slightly spasmodic presentation, it is an interesting and stimulating book, and leaves the reader with a heightened sense of Shelley's greatness—and his oddity.

Shelley in Italy,⁶ an anthology selected and introduced by John Lehmann, contains those poems written after 1818 which, in the opinion of the editor, most clearly demonstrate Shelley's genius at the height of its powers and also the influence of Italy upon that genius. This is, as we are reminded in the Foreword, a purely

⁴ *Shelley: A Biography*, by Newman Ivey White. Secker and Warburg. I, pp. xvi + 748; II, x + 642, with Index, ii + cxlvii. 3½ gns.

⁵ *The Nascent Mind of Shelley*, by A. M. D. Hughes. O.U.P. pp. 272. 15s.

⁶ *Shelley in Italy*, an Anthology selected by John Lehmann. Lehmann. pp. 294. 8s.

personal choice. *Prometheus Unbound* is here, but not *The Cenci*, and of *Hellas* only the two great choruses appear. Alone among the fragments *The Triumph of Life* wins a place: and the book ends, fittingly though a trifle unexpectedly, with Shelley's own *Defence of Poetry*.

The year brought forth a good crop of notes and comments in the field of Shelley scholarship. J. Gwynn Griffiths, in a letter on *Shelley and Diodorus* (*T.L.S.*, 16 Aug.) tracked the famous Ozyman-dias inscription to Diodorus Siculus, I, xlvii, 4.

The Vision Theme in Shelley's 'Alastor' and Other Poems by Frederick L. Jones (*S. in Ph.*, Jan) offered a close study of Shelley's employment of these themes in *Alastor*, *The Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*, *Prince Athanase*, *Epipsychidion* and elsewhere. In Jones's opinion 'No other single theme contains so much of Shelley's conception of himself and of his basic philosophy of love, beauty and truth', but he adds the cautious reminder that the experiences described in the relevant passages 'cannot be accepted literally'.

Douglas S. Mead, writing on Shelley's '*Ode to the West Wind*' (*The Explicator*, May), avowed that every time he taught the poem he trembled lest some 'engineering mind' should demand, 'If Shelley is the wind, how can he, as the wind, blow upon Shelley?' Arthur Wormhoudt, picking up this thread (*The Explicator*, Oct.) analysed the poem and suggested that instead of assuming the rôle of the West Wind as an active, destructive force, he commands that it shall unite with, and thus assume, the more passive and fecund character with which (stanza 4) he identifies himself. Richard H. Fogle, dealing with the same question in the same issue, declares that, far from being incoherent or emotional, the *Ode* is a precise statement of 'richly various relationships between the imperfect, individual Shelley and his vision of perfection'.

P.M.L.A. (Sept.) contained an interesting article by Frederick L. Jones, *Shelley's 'On Life'*. The neglect of this fragmentary essay by commentators and biographers strikes him as 'rather remarkable', and he analyses the influences operating on Shelley's mind between 1814 and 1815, with special reference to Wordsworth's *Immortality Ode* and Sir William Drummond's *Academical Questions*. 'It would be a curious thing', he observes, 'if Wordsworth's poetry

actually kept Shelley from adopting Christianity'; and yet, in view of the intertextual evidence in this fragment, it seems 'highly possible' that it did.

In '*Alastor*': a *Ré-interpretation* (*P.M.L.A.*, 'Dec.) Evan K. Gibson provides an analysis as well as a re-interpretation. He holds that more than half of the poem is occupied with what seems to be 'a natural allegory of the approach of death and the span of human life', and that it is very far from being 'the nebulous and inchoate sequence of unrelated ideas and images postulated by some critics'.

I. J. Kapstein discussed *The Meaning of Shelley's 'Mont Blanc'* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.) and pointed out that the real difficulty over this poem is not that its subject-matter is ontology, but that Shelley's own attitudes towards this subject-matter are so conflicting. By the time that he wrote *Hellas* in 1821 he had, says Kapstein, freed himself completely from the 'ambiguous and ironical anticlimax of *Mont Blanc*'.

In a letter on *Hunt and Shelley* (*T.L.S.*, 8 Nov.) Henry Tyler set forth the circumstances in which Leigh Hunt's essay on Shelley (intended for the *Westminster Review*) was side-tracked by Peacock, Southern and Mary Shelley, and quotes a letter from Coulson which 'reduces the obscurities of the episode'.

M. Buxton Forman's third edition of the *Letters of John Keats* (noted above) was the most important piece of Keats scholarship and research to appear in book-form during 1947, but Werner W. Beyer's *Keats and the Daemon King*⁷ must be noted. The jacket of this book claims that the new light it throws upon Keats's life, thought and work is exciting, startling and fascinating. These are bold claims and hardly substantiated, though Beyer deserves full credit for having detected the influence of Wieland's *Oberon* upon the poet, especially at the time when he was engaged in writing *Endymion*, *The Eve of St. Agnes*, *Lamia* and *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*. The science of psychology keeps 'breaking in', as it does in so many modern works of ostensibly literary and textual criticism. The index shows nine entries under 'schizophrenia', forty-three under 'mental association', and twenty under 'dream', while

⁷ *Keats and the Daemon King*, by Werner W. Beyer. New York: O.U.P. pp. xii + 414. \$4.

'symbols' account for no less than fifty-one. As for *Oberon* itself, two whole columns scarcely suffice to document the allusions to Wieland's poem, and to the Fairy King round whom it is woven. Other critics, beginning with Sidney Colvin, have perceived the faint image of Sotheby's translation hovering above some of Keats's elfland landscapes: but Beyer can detect it clearly behind every haunted bush and priar.

Nevill F. Ford made some interesting suggestions concerning the 'fellowship with essence' phrase in *Endymion*. His first article (*E.L.H.*, March) was entitled '*Endymion*: a Neo-Platonic Allegory'? Here he explained that he could find no support either in Keats's letters or in the comments of his contemporaries for the comparatively recent theory that Endymion's pursuit of Cynthia is intended as a Neo-Platonic allegory in which the young shepherd represents Man (or the Soul, or the Poet) and the goddess, Ideal Beauty or some other transcendent reality. Some advocates of this interpretation cite ll. 777-807 in support of it, with especial stress on the 'fellowship with essence': but Ford claims that this is quite unconnected with any platonic or metaphysical concept. His own theory is that the main theme of *Endymion* is the eponymous hero's quest of 'an everlasting eroticism, imaginatively idealized' and seemingly capable of endless renewal after death.

Returning to this subject in an article on *The Meaning of Fellowship with Essence in 'Endymion'* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.) he surveys the Neo-Platonic theory, with references to Matthew Arnold, Robert Bridges, J. Middleton Murry and other scholars, and provides an impressive list of twenty-three examples of Keats's own use of the terms 'essence' and 'essential'. He also shows that the 'fellowship with essence' does not figure in the original draft of the relevant passage, and reiterates his view that this 'blending', as it was at first called, signifies 'an earthly blending, an imaginative, emphatic fusion of a percipient with an aesthetic object'.

La Belle Dame Sans Merci attracted some critical comment, first in *The Explicator* (Feb.) when Don A. Keister considered what might be the exact significance attached by Keats to the term 'Merci', and remarked gravely that 'it is quite possible that more took place in the elfin grot than is described in the poem'. In the same quarter there appeared (April) a letter from T. O. Mabbott

suggesting that 'the cardinal phrase for the explication' is that 'La Belle Dame' was, as Keats said, a 'faery's child', and, as such, a being whose love would kill her mortal lover: but Bernard Breyer prefers (ibid., Dec.) to see in the poem yet another expression of that quest for imaginative beauty which pervades Keats's more important works.

R. K. Gordon, in a paper on *Keats and Milton* (*M.L.R.*, Oct.), claims that Keats's debt to Milton, especially to *Paradise Lost*, is greater than is commonly realized. In *Endymion*, says Gordon, he borrows and generally weakens what he borrows; in *Lamia* and *The Eve of St. Agnes* he 'borrows and transforms'.

In a letter on *Shakespeare and Keats* (*T.L.S.*, 5 July) Kenneth Muir drew attention to an analogy between Master Ford's exclamation (*Merry Wives of Windsor* III, v, ll. 144-5) and the last stanza of the *Ode to the Nightingale*; and (2 Aug.) J. C. Maxwell notes two unconscious echoes from *Troilus and Cressida* (neither noted by Forman) in Keats's famous letter to Woodhouse—dated 27 October 1818—on the poetical character.

The following pieces of Keatsiana all appeared in *N. and Q.* In a note, *The Living Hand* (25 Jan.) R. F. Rashbrook assembled a group of Shakespearean echoes from the works of Keats with special reference to 3 *Henry VI*, V, i, ll. 53-7 and Keats's

. . . living hand now warm and capable
Of earnest grasping.

G. H. Hatchman, writing about *Keats and Others* (19 April) notes echoes, affinities and analogies between the thoughts and phrases of several English poets among whom Keats is given most prominence. J. C. Maxwell supplied (17 May) some supplementary notes on Forman's 1935 edition of Keats's *Letters*.

Harold H. Scudder considered the famous 'Beauty is Truth' (31 May) and traced Keats's aphorism by way of Johnson, Burke and Addison to Boileau's *Art poétique*, with its bold *rien n'est beau que le vrai*. Peter Stubbs, reviving the topic (20 Sept.), quoted J. R. Caldwell (in *The Effect on Keats of the Psychology of his Day*, 1945) to the effect that the source of this celebrated 'equation' may well have been Hazlitt the 'associationist' critic with whom

the poet was most familiar. Continuing the quest, G. Ryle pointed out (15 Nov.) that Shaftesbury in his *Characteristics* had laid it down that 'all beauty is truth'.

A note on *Spenser and Keats's 'Ode to Psyche'* by D. L. Staines (9 Aug.) suggested that this *Ode* owes more to Spenser, especially to the *Epithalamium*, than is realized. This note elicited another from R. F. Rashbrook (6 Sept.), under the same heading, in which further hints are offered as to Keats's indebtedness to various writers, Beaumont and Fletcher, Marlowe, Peele, and Burton among them.

On the following dates *N. & Q.* published a sequence of *Tributes and Allusions in Verse to Keats*, 1816-1920, by M. B. Forman: 14 June, 26 July, 23 Aug., 4 Oct., 1 Nov., 29 Nov.

Charles E. Mounts (*M.L.N.*, April) showed in a note on 'Sooth' in *de la Mare, Keats and Milton* how Keats misinterpreted the word 'sooth' in *Comus*, l. 823, and how his use of it in *The Eve of St. Agnes* to denote smoothness instead of truthfulness has been duplicated by de la Mare in *Sam's Three Wishes*.

Clarence D. Thorpe, in an article on *Keats and Hazlitt* (*P.M.L.A.*, June), begins by analysing Keats's attitude to his contemporaries, from Mrs. (Psyche) Tighe to Wordsworth and reached the conclusion that Hazlitt alone won and retained the poet's undiminished regard. 'Hazlitt's esteem for Keats has been generally minimized by modern literary students', says Thorpe, 'but when the evidence is assembled it makes a convincing total.' As to the admiration felt by Keats for Hazlitt there has never been any doubt.

The Tait and Parker edition of the *Journal of Sir Walter Scott* (Oliver and Boyd) has not been available for notice in *Y.W. V.R.* offered some notes and emendations (*N. & Q.*, 28 June). Of interest to all students of Scott's literary methods are the *Private Letters of the Seventeenth Century*,⁸ published in full for the first time. We have here, so to speak, the blue clay from which ultimately came that diamond of the first water, *The Fortunes of Nigel*. Nobody need regret Scott's surrender to the advice of Ballantyne and Lockhart, and his decision to give them 'Bonnie King Jamie

⁸ *Private Letters of the Seventeenth Century*, by Sir Walter Scott; Introduction by Douglas Grant. O.U.P. pp. 109. 7s. 6d.

and all his Tail in the old manner', but this piece of *pastiche* is of sufficient value to make many people glad that he did not carry out his simultaneous resolve to 'burn the sheets'.

A. Aspinall, writing on Scott's baronetcy (*T.L.S.*, 25 Oct.), gave the results of his researches among the MSS. at Blair Adam. These show that the Prince Regent had not responded to the suggestion of William Adam that Scott should be appointed a Knight Marshal (with the rank of baronet) as custodian of the newly unearthed Scottish regalia, and that it was thanks mainly to the persistence of Adam that the baronetcy was conferred two years later. Earlier researches at the Record Office were recorded in *R.E.S.* (Oct. 1946).

In a paper on '*Pride and Prejudice*' in the *Eighteenth Century Mode* (*U.T.Q.*, July) Samuel Kluger examines the novel in relation to what he calls 'the neo-classical idea-complex' by which originality and spontaneity (as represented by Elizabeth Bennet) are opposed to propriety and discipline (as represented by Mr. Darcy): the relevant passages are said to 'reveal a background of eighteenth century aesthetic discussion'.

The Plays of Joanna Baillie were considered carefully by M. Norton (*R.E.S.*, April). This lady, so highly esteemed by Scott and Byron, is here permitted, for the first time in nearly a hundred years, to expound her strongly held dramatic principles, and her *Plays of the Passions* receive a meed of attention which would have given her much pleasure. A small group of illustrative extracts from the plays themselves might have added to the value of the article.

The first volume of Alan Lang Strout's *Life and Letters of James Hogg* was not available for notice here, but was recorded, with brief comments, in *N. & Q.* (23 Aug.).

Among the most welcome reissues of the year was P. P. Howe's admirable *Life of William Hazlitt*,⁹ first published in 1922 (see *Y.W.*, ii, 184), and still not superseded by any other. G. D. H. Cole's¹⁰ full-scale *Life of William Cobbett*, an outstanding book

⁹ *The Life of William Hazlitt*, by P. P. Howe. Secker. pp. xxvi+433. 15s.

¹⁰ *The Life of William Cobbett*, by J. D. H. Cole. Horne and Van Thal. pp. 455. 16s.

in 1924, was also put upon the market again. Its value is slightly impaired by the violent partisan bias which sometime over-colours and sometime half-obliterates both landscapes and figures, but it deserves resuscitation none the less. If it should be printed yet again, one might hope that Caroline, Princess of Wales, will no longer be given the anomalous title of 'Princess Regent', which she could not have borne even if she had been dwelling in blameless domesticity with her husband at Carlton House.

W. M. Parker published for the first time some important letters written by *Charles Ollier to William Blackwood* (T.L.S., 7 June). They are now in the National Library of Scotland. It is justly claimed for these letters that they add to our knowledge of 'the literary personalities as well as the rivalries of the literary journals' in the period covered by them—1819–24. Shelley, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Byron, Hazlitt and Leigh Hunt are among the famous writers who appear: and there is a very odd, though scarcely credible, story to the effect that the *Memoirs*, handed by Byron to Moore and afterwards incinerated by Murray, consisted of blank pages only.

Malcolm Elwin's study of *The First Romantics*¹¹—Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey—is an always stimulating and readable, and sometimes rather provocative book. People who have just struggled through yet another war provoked by yet another aggressor of the traditional Asiatic type, may find it difficult to acquiesce in this biographer's view that Pitt's Government was 'reactionary' and that when Coleridge elected to support the war against Napoleon he thereby showed that he had failed to preserve his ideals and his integrity 'in the teeth of war-time hysteria'. It is only while his three heroes are young, wild and violent that he can find any good thing to say of them. That kind of psychology which uncovers, or professes to uncover, abnormal emotional conditions is fully exploited in a book which would be very much better, if not more diverting, if it were less frequently intercalated with irrelevant controversial matter.

Samuel McKechnie continued in *N. & Q.* his interesting series of papers on *Lamb and the India House* (11 Jan., 25 Jan.,

¹¹ *The First Romantics*, by Malcolm Elwin. Macdonald. pp. 304. 15s.

8 Feb., 15 Feb. and 8 March). In a note on *Mary Lamb and Penny Ballads* (T.L.S., 26 Sept.) Douglas Grant identified the source of *A Dialogue between a Mother and a Child*.

*Nathaniel Hawthorne and European Literary Tradition*¹² provided Jane Lundblad with the material for a rich and complicated study of sources, impacts and influences. She lays it down that, while Hawthorne's work reveals first and foremost 'a national character, a moral personality and a historical period', it also contains details that 'seem familiar' from having appeared, previously or simultaneously, in Europe. One of the best chapters is that on 'The Cultural and Literary New England Background before 1820', and one of the most valuable for students of English literature is that on 'Hawthorne and the Tradition of Gothic Romance'.

Christof Wegelin's article on *Europe in Hawthorne's Fiction* (E.L.H., Sept.) deals mainly with Hawthorne's use of non-American backgrounds, and marks the contrast between his detached, realistic, yet sympathetic point of view and Washington Irving's 'naïve and often sentimental reverence'.

Thomas A. Kirby contributed to *M.L.N.* (April) a short paper entitled *Irving and Moore: a Note on Anglo-American Literary Relations*. He traced the rise and progress of the friendship between the two writers and gave a hitherto unpublished letter from Tom Moore to Washington Irving, written apparently in the summer of 1830.

In a note on *Two Poems by Beddoes* R. G. Howarth pointed out (N. & Q., 20 Sept.) that *Dream Pedlary* is commonly quoted in a truncated form and suggested that when composing 'the most horrifying of all his poems', namely, *Old Adam*, Beddoes may have had the old Scottish ballad of *The Twa Corbies* in his mind.

Samuel Rogers, long neglected, made two appearances in 1947. Donald Weeks, writing on *Samuel Rogers, Man of Taste* (P.M.L.A., June), gives a lovingly detailed description of the once well-known

¹² *Nathaniel Hawthorne and European Literary Tradition*, by Jane Lundblad. Essays and Studies in American Language and Literature, VI, Univ of Upsala. Harvard U.P. pp. 196. \$2.50.

and now utterly bomb-obliterated house in 'St. James's Place, with a full catalogue of its treasures.

R. R. Way, in *Samuel Rogers's Approach to the Dramatic Blank Verse Narrative* (M.L.N., Feb.) showed how Rogers in his *Italy* (1822) anticipated the method afterwards adopted by Browning.

William Blackburn provided a new account of Carlyle's biographical methods in an article, *Carlyle and the Composition of the 'Life of John Sterling'* (S. in Ph., Oct.), utilizing two sets of marginalia on *Sterling's Essays and Tales*, one set in the Harry Elkins Widener collection at Harvard, and the other in the Duke University Library. The survival of these two marked copies attests Carlyle's devotion to the memory of his friend and his determination to write the truth about him as seen through *his* eyes and not through the eyes of Archdeacon Hare, who wrote the prefatory *Memoirs to Essays and Tales*.

Carlyle's Translations from the German by C. T. Carr (M.L.R., April) throws new light upon Carlyle's bowdlerizing treatment of Goethe and Jean Paul, with examples illustrative of his peculiar Scottish brand of prudishness.

Under the heading *Dickens and his Publisher* (T.L.S., 25 Jan.) R. E. G. Woodman gave a letter from Dickens to Charles Smithson, dated '14 November 1843', and touching upon the novelist's business relations with Bentley and Chapman and Hall, with special reference to *Oliver Twist* and *Nicholas Nickleby*.

Robert Hamilton discussed *Dickens in his Characters* in the *Nineteenth Century* for July, and laid it down that the 'anarchy of eccentricity' dominated Dickens's whole life. 'Any group of characters 'selected widely for variety' will give us, he maintains, 'a pretty good insight into the essential traits' of his own character, which he sums up as amiable, unpredictable, fantastic, sentimental, aggressive. There was, he says, something of him even in Pecksniff, and, more unexpectedly still, in Quilp, 'whose roots, like Dickens's own, are in the Middle Ages'.

Jared Wenger's *Character Types of Scott, Dickens and Elzaz* (P.M.L.A., March) approaches selected fictitious characters with reference to their functions rather than to their persons, and

emphasizes the fact that a novel belongs to the art of fiction or tale-telling, and is not a sequence of self-contained character sketches. He says truly that Scott planned his novels as if they were plays, and that in most of them we meet a hero, a comic or adventurous secondary hero, a heroine, a second lady, a 'heavy emotional personage', a madman or monomaniac, an old lady (often a housekeeper), a father or uncle, and an historical character. This generalization is too sweeping, but there is something to be said for the theory that Dickens followed all Scott's rules while tending to duplicate the *dramatis personae*, his novels thus resembling at times 'an *Uncle Tom's Cabin* troupe with two Topsy's, two little Evas', and several packs of bloodhounds. If Wenger had studied Dickens with more care he would not have surprised us by labelling Mrs. Wilfer and Mrs. Micawber 'tearful', or Dick Swiveller 'unchastened'; neither would he have startled us by lumping Esther Summerson and Jane Eyre together as 'Gothic and sentimental'.

The Brontë family continued to fascinate, to mystify and to elude their chroniclers. Phyllis Bentley¹³ enjoyed the initial advantage of being herself a Yorkshire-woman, and thus well able to understand the powerful spell exercised upon the Rev. Patrick's four uncanny children by the Yorkshire background against which they grew up; her book is good, readable and sympathetic, though the absence of an index is only partially atoned for in the chapter synopses at the beginning.

It is less than half the length of Laura L. Hinkley's careful study¹⁴ (which ostensibly deals with Charlotte and Emily only) and it was therefore doomed to be more bare of detail; but Lady Eastlake's name ought to have been mentioned as the author of the notorious (and ridiculous) review of *Jane Eyre* in the *Quarterly*: and Mrs. Gaskell's *Life*, with its conscious, if amiable, suppressions and manipulations of fact, has surely little claim to be ranked as the 'second finest biography in the English language'. The local tradition that Branwell Brontë forced himself to die standing upright is quite correctly rejected by Laura L. Hinkley, who points out that unlike Emily and Anne, he died in bed. She is particularly happy

¹³ *The Brontës*, by Phyllis Bentley. Home and Van Thal. pp. 115. 6s.

¹⁴ *The Brontës: Charlotte and Emily*, by Laura L. Hinkley. Hammond and Hammond. pp. 296. 15s.

in her handling of the Angrian and Gondal worlds of fantasy, and she is more fair to that much-tried woman, Madame H  ger, than Phyllis Bentley has found it in her heart to be.

J. W. Procter, in a letter headed *Betta na Like* (*T.L.S.*, 15 Nov.) suggested that old Mr. Bront   was incorrectly reported by Mrs. Gaskell when she quoted him as saying of his daughter Charlotte's work that it was 'better than likely'. The phrase, it seems, was 'betta na like', still used in Haworth to express 'slight commendation combined with a determination not to be lavish with praises'.

It was inevitable that the publication of Gordon N. Ray's monumental edition of Thackeray's letters should bring forth new biographies of the novelist. Lionel Stevenson¹⁶ has written an agreeable, well-balanced book, packed with personal *trivia*, not attempting critical assessments, and refreshingly free from psycho-analytical adventures. The chapter-headings, which look more like headlines of the eye-catching type, are perhaps not quite worthy of a biography so seriously and intelligently undertaken; e.g. 'Can Authors be Gentlemen?' 'Thorns in the Cushion'; but the illustrations, by Thackeray himself, enliven the narrative and bring him vividly before the reader at every turn.

A leading article, *Enter Becky Sharp* (*T.L.S.*, 4 Jan.) reminded the world that on New Year's Day, 1847, 'the first of twenty yellow-covered parts of *Vanity Fair* came into the bookshops'.

Humphry House in a letter on *Thackeray and Lucas* supplemented Ray's editorial note in the *Letters*, Vol. IV, p. 170: he was again in the field (*T.L.S.*, 11 Oct.) with a dozen or more suggested emendations to *Thackeray's Letters*. Ray replied with spirit (15 Nov.): Hodge returned to the attack (22 Nov.), and the m  l  e became general, with letters from Parnell Kerr (22 Nov.) and Arthur J. Hawkes (27 Dec.) defending Ray, while D. M. Low and R. W. Chapman came into action on the side of his critics.

Hoxie N. Fairchild, in a note on *Tennyson and Shelley* (*T.L.S.*, 11 Jan.), suggested that in *Queen Mab*, Section I, ll. 55-66, may be found the germ of *The Palace of Art*.

Alan L. Strout contributed two interesting items to *N. & Q.* (26 July, 15 Nov.) on *Croker and Tennyson Again*. He quoted a

¹⁶ *The Showman of Vanity Fair*, by Lionel Stevenson. Chapman and Hall. pp. 405. 21s.

hitherto unpublished correspondence between John Wilson Croker and J. G. Lockhart apropos of Croker's indignation that the *Quarterly* should have commended in 1842 a poet—namely, Tennyson—upon whom he had made his celebrated 'rip-snorting' attack in the same columns nine years earlier. This correspondence is in the W. L. Clement's Library, University of Michigan.

Natural Theology in 'In Memoriam' was the theme of an article by Graham Hough (*R.E.S.*, July), who traced the changes in the trend of liberal religious opinion between the publication of Paley's *Evidences* in 1802 and that of *In Memoriam* in 1850. He demolished yet again the chronologically untenable theory that Darwin was responsible for most of those changes during the *In Memoriam* period of incubation, and showed that Tennyson's 'groping ideas about evolution' (contained in that part of the poem dating from 1844) were probably derived from Chambers's *Vestiges of Creation*, Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, and Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*, this last being in great favour with the Cambridge 'Apostles'. There is, as Hough reminds us, 'no ground for the view' that Tennyson was 'in some sort of panic about monkeys'.

The cool tints and symmetrical outlines of Matthew Arnold's poetry make it particularly congenial to the French mind, and it was a Frenchman, Louis Bonnerot, who made the largest contribution to Arnold scholarship in 1947. By his prose translation of *Empedocles on Etna*,¹⁶ 'une cime', as he remarks, 'd'où il est particulièrement aisé d'embrasser le paysage poétique Arnoldien', he has increased French appreciation of his chosen poet; and by his monumental *Essai de Biographie Psychologique*¹⁷ he has augmented knowledge and understanding among English students as well. The Introduction to *Empedocles* occupies 77 pages out of a total of 166, and merits the attention of scholars in both countries, whether they need the aid of the translation or not. This *biographie interieure d'Arnold* offers none of those sudden shocks which the contemporary English or American critic so frequently inflicts upon the disconcerted and often unconvinced reader. It is leisurely,

¹⁶ *Empedocles sur l'Etna*, Etude Critique et Traduction par Louis Bonnerot. (Collection Bilangue des classiques étrangers). Paris: Autier. pp. 166.

¹⁷ *Matthew Arnold: Essai de biographie Psychologique*, par Louis Bonnerot. Paris: Didier. pp. 584.

penetrating and well balanced: it begins with a sketch of the Arnold ancestry and environment, and ends by repudiating the views enunciated in 1939, by W. H. Auden whose thesis, he insists, '*est fausse, non seulement parcequ'elle simplifie un problème délicat d'influences héréditaires, mais plus encore parcequ'elle sépare la poésie de la prose et ne retient chez Arnold que le Prophète de la Culture.*

Sir E. K. Chambers's¹⁸ *Matthew Arnold: a Study*, ends instead of beginning with the Arnold pedigree, and affords by the way a very interesting consideration of the Public Servant and the Professor, so often obliterated by the Poet and the Philosopher. The whole book is of great value to anyone interested in Victorian literature and Victorian thought, and no more vivid portrait of Arnold has ever been traced than that in the chapter headed 'Arnold's Personality'.

P. Turner in *Eng. Stud.* established an analogy between Matthew Arnold's *Dover Beach* and Clough's *Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich*, IX, 49-53: he claimed that Arnold must have both read, and thought about, *The Bothie* before writing the last nine lines of *Dover Beach*, and that he there expressed his disagreement with the 'wishful thinking' indulged in by his friend.

Matthew Arnold's Memorial Verses were traced by Paul Turner (*N. & Q.* 17 May) to a possible origin in Hazlitt's lecture on Chaucer and Spenser. William Blackburn wrote a note on *Matthew Arnold and the Powis Medal at Cambridge* (*M.L.N.*, Jan.).

Arnold's satirical passage in *Literature and Dogma* concerning the Lucretian subject chosen for the Powis Prize Poem is shown to have elicited a reply from a 'Cantabrigian' signing himself 'An Authority in a Small Way' (the *Spectator*), Feb. 1863) who pointed out that Lord Powis was responsible for the choice and also that the prize-winning entry, by S. H. Butcher, contained nothing 'which the sweetest or more prudish of the sons and daughters of light could reasonably object to'.

Admiral Sir William James,¹⁹ out of regard for the memory of

¹⁸ *Matthew Arnold: A Study*, by E. K. Chambers. O.U.P. pp. 144. 8s. 6d.

¹⁹ *The Order of Release*, by Admiral Sir William James. Murray. pp. x + 264. 18s.

his grandmother, Lady Millais, elected to lift the veil from the murky and perplexing picture of John Ruskin's marriage. The real facts have never been plainly set forth before, and they certainly leave any impartial reader with a strong sense of pity for Effie Grey, exasperation with Ruskin, and repugnance towards Ruskin's incredible parents. Millais comes out of the story extremely well and is shown to have been the honest and high-minded man one always felt he was; but only family piety could justify the publication of letters so intimate and, in places, so repellent.

The poetry of the Brownings has not hitherto been drawn into the compass of one volume, and by making a selection of the work of husband and wife, with an excellent commentary, Clifford Bax²⁰ has now set them, as they would have wished, together in the centre of the stage. The range of choice is necessarily narrow in a book containing only 160 pages, and it is surprising how much of what was characteristic of Robert and his Elizabeth has been brought in, without any skimming of margins or squeezing of lines. It is significant that so modern a commentator should write of *Aurora Leigh* 'an achievement as great as this cannot remain for ever submerged by the drifting sands of indolence and mere fashion', and should attribute the present decline of its popularity in part, at least, to the fact that most young readers are neither Christians nor Liberals.

A correspondent (*T.L.S.*, 21 June) writing on *Sonnets from the Portuguese* stresses the importance of the MS. given by Robert Browning to Mrs. George Murray-Smith and presented by her surviving children to the British Museum (under the terms of her will) in 1933. It can now be studied in Add. MSS. 43487.

Kenneth L. Knickerbocker in *Browning and Swinburne: an Episode* (*M.L.N.*, April) was able to show how it came to pass that Swinburne 'slipped through the meshes of the Chapman net' in 1863.

George Eliot is almost the last of the great Victorian novelists to be 'discovered' by the modern critics and the modern reading public. Her novels no longer collect dust: her characters and their

²⁰ *The Poetry of the Brownings*, an Anthology compiled by Clifford Bax. Muller. pp. 160. 10s. 6d.

difficulties and agonies no longer bear the look of outmoded and unconvincing imaginings: and she herself is now perceived to be as intelligent and interesting a woman as her own Dorothea—if considerably more fallible and human. Gerald Bullett's critical and biographical study²¹ was his first attempt at a full-scale work of the kind. It is equally satisfying as a biography and as a critical estimate of George Eliot's powers as a novelist.

In preparing his life of Edward Fitzgerald, Alfred M. Terhune²² had access to more than a thousand unpublished letters, notebooks and diaries: but the real fact emerges that, in spite of his incomparable gifts as the translator-creator of Omar Khayyám, in spite of his friendships with other famous Victorians, in spite of the oddity of his whole personality, Fitzgerald was not, and is not now, an interesting character. This life of him is carefully documented, though not always completely accurate as regards the minor details of the English social background in the nineteenth century: it fills a gap—but it may be that the gap is smaller than the author imagined when planning so large a book to fill it.

It is always a profitable and often a delightful experience to hear a poet descanting upon poetry. No one who has read the chapters on Dante Gabriel Rossetti and William Morris which form the larger and more important part of John Masefield's *Thanks before Going*²³ can fail to feel that he had been brought much nearer in spirit to those poets than ever before. Only the mind of a living poet can so bridge the river separating us from the dead. The notes on *The House of Life* amount in some places to only a few lines, but there is hardly one that does not (as he himself says of Sonnet LXXXVI) come 'fiery, like a person with a warning, into a reader's spirit'. As if all this wisdom, perception, and ardour were not enough, we are given for fuller measure two poems, one about Dante Gabriel, the other to William Morris, both in the best of the Laureate's later vein.

²¹ *George Eliot: Her Life and Books*, by Gerald Bullett. Collins. pp. 256. 12s. 6d.

²² *The Life of Edward Fitzgerald*, by Alfred McKinley Terhune. O.U.P. pp. xi + 373. 21s.

²³ *Thanks before Going*, by John Masefield. Heinemann. pp. vi + 215. 10s. 6d.

Aurelia B. Harlan's *Owen Meredith*²⁴ appeared first in America in 1946 and became available for English readers in 1947. It is a closely packed and carefully documented study of Robert, first Earl of Lytton, who here receives more serious attention as a man of letters than it has been customary to accord to him in his own country.

²⁴ *Owen Meredith: A Critical Biography of Robert, First Earl of Lytton*, by Aurelia Brooks Harlan. Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. ix + 292. 21s.

XIV

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

II

By H. V. ROUTH

AFTER his usual regret that some appropriate books are now unobtainable, the present contributor looks for one wherewith to introduce this our latest literary period.

Possibly the most suitable is S. B. Liljegren¹ on *The Revolt against Romanticism in American Literature*, which might otherwise have figured more appropriately in the previous section. This brochure tells the story how Mark Twain (S. L. Clemens), generally regarded as a literary buffoon, was really a cultured and gifted author, bred in the romantic tradition, who in the 'sixties met Artemus Ward and Bret Harte, and like them scented the new current of realism. So, being a humourist and satirist, he exploded the eighteenth-century novel of terror, parodied Longfellow (e.g. *The Wreck of the Hesperus*), ridiculed Scott and Fenimore Cooper and reached his climax in the anti-medievalism of *A Connecticut Yankee at the Court of King Arthur*. The reader may feel that Liljegren is making too much of his author, but he or she will at any rate be grateful for the neat and discriminating summaries of his less familiar works.

This display of anti-romanticism leads us on to G. D. H. Cole's *Samuel Butler and 'the Way of all Flesh'*,² appearing in a new 'The English Novelists Series' which aims at evoking interest among those not specially familiar with the English classics. Perhaps for that reason the biography puts its subject in a rather unusual relief. The centre of Cole's exposition is Butler's Darwinism. Darwin, it will be remembered, had proved that as the world pro-

¹ *Essays and Studies on American Language and Literature*, ed. by S. B. Liljegren. I. *The Revolt against Romanticism as evidenced in the Works of S. L. Clemens*. Upsala. 1945. pp. 60.

² *Samuel Butler and 'The Way of All Flesh'*, by G. D. H. Cole. Home and Van Thal. pp. 118. 6s.

gressed life had to progress along the same line. Those forms which failed to adapt their habits were bound to perish. The naturalist gathered his evidence almost exclusively from the lower forms of life. Butler took up his cue but applied the principle to the manners and morals of human life in the middle-class circles which he understood best. They had to adjust their habits and points of view to their environment (especially religion and society), which advanced much more rapidly than in the animal world. Thus the three generations of the Pontifex family illustrated *the way of all flesh* in the realm of conduct and common sense, its successes and failures.

The biographer reminds us that *The Way of all Flesh* was begun as early as 1872-3, laid aside when the author embarked on his Darwinian controversies, resumed in the early 'eighties, again rewritten and again laid aside in 1884, and published a year after his death by the decision of his literary executor.

Cole also explains that *Erewhon*, over which the author spent twelve years (1863-75), was an answer to those scientists who asserted that human beings functioned like machines. He turned the idea upside down or inside out and showed what would happen if machines were just like men.

As a knowledge of an author's personality illuminates his works, we are glad to know something of Butler's life and character. His biographer recalls his money entanglements, his pantheism, his Platonic and intellectual relationship with Miss Savage; his ambition to become an artist and musical critic; and tells us how he managed to escape ordination. We are also interested though not surprised to learn that the author of *Erewhon* was an unaccountable cranky personage, a sentimentalist who suffered from a privacy complex, and almost from a persecution mania.

We meet another intensely interesting and unaccountable personality in G. M. Hopkins who has returned to life so effectively in the twentieth century, that he may be described as both younger and older than Butler. The value of Miss Ruggles's *Life*³ depends on whether the poet will continue to move among us as a familiar friend and inspiration, or be eventually dismissed as a museum piece relegated to a living death in period-histories of English

³ *Gerard Manley Hopkins: A Life*, by E. Ruggles. The Bodley Head. pp. 247. 10s. 6d.

literature. For *Gerard Manley Hopkins* is *A Life* and nothing more. The biographer has gathered her materials from all the mass of complex and intimate documents published by the Oxford University Press—journals, notebooks, letters as well as poems—and makes her hero live. It is a work of construction rather than research. Thus, although there are in her pages some interesting comments on ‘sprung rhythm’ and ‘point-counter-point’, and the other tricks of his technique, she is chiefly concerned with his experiences and career; well worth reading on the Anglican atmosphere of his period, especially the Oxford movement, the influence of Newman and the counter-influence of Pusey and Jowett. She takes the view that Hopkins was drawn to Rome as if by destiny and that this impulsion blighted his life. One of the most interesting chapters graphically describes the Jesuit discipline, ‘with its corpse-like obedience’; and all through the story we have vivid pictures of his oddities, ailments and irresolutions—and his friends. Incidentally, we are reminded of how much prose he wrote.

Let us assume that Hopkins represents the twentieth century in so far as he broke up metres, rhythms and even words; melted them, as it were, and recast them into aesthetic and spiritual experiences which cannot be fully realized in the traditional prosodies. Something similar might be said of Henry James’s adventures into the art of novel-writing. For he still survives as an artist, pure and simple, who created possibilities within the range of his craft. Hence the value of his *Notebooks*⁴ recently edited.

These elaborate, though fugitive, entries, in his cryptic handwriting, are nevertheless as intelligible and suggestive as the formal prefaces to the New York edition of his collected works are confused and elusive. The editors’ introduction is admirable in its succinctness and emphasis, quoting here and there some essential tenet of James’s faith, and cleverly lifting the veil which hides his artistic soul. Readers will be particularly grateful for the comments in square brackets wherever it was helpful to place the author’s entries in relation to the stories and novels he evolved therefrom, and to indicate in the briefest possible manner the principal developments between the notes and the final treatment. Ideas for narrative appear sometimes as bare statements, but more often

⁴ *The Notebooks of Henry James*, ed. by F. O. Matthiessen and K. B. Murdock. O.U.P. pp. xxviii+425. 30s.

with comments on the possibilities which the novelist felt in his bones. In his own words it was his discipline 'to woo combinations and inspirations into being by a depth and continuity of attention and meditation'. One could profitably fill a whole section with extracts. But the student already realizes that to read these notes, by no means without the editorial comments, is to enjoy something unusual: a novelist at work on his own mind.

The reader need not be reminded that F. O. Matthiessen, in the previous year, had published a full and searching inquiry into *Henry James: The Major Phase* (see *Y.W.*, xxvii, 245).

Other late Victorians have come under the microscope, and all will be glad to find Meredith among them. This once conspicuous and now already half-forgotten figure is the theme of Sir Osbert Sitwell's⁵ presidential address to the English Association. The president is thoroughly at home in his subject. He revives and at the same time criticizes the worship of a genius centred in the world of baronets and great ladies—an atmosphere which we, of the age of 'the Little Man' have long left behind or sunk beneath. Moreover he does not deny that his lost leader had two defects. Meredith steps in and characterizes his characters, instead of leaving them to their dramatic selves. Though an Olympian humorist, his 'vaunted wit' is irritating. It seems funny without being funny. Yet the persevering reader is captured by that atmosphere which is occasionally indistinct or 'insipidated and at times perfumed' like a painting by Titian and Tintoretto. Yet it grows on you.

'Its chief feeling, I think, is one of predestination . . . mortals, physically at ease in their surroundings—a fact which leads them to believe that they can follow their own lines of action—march towards a reasonable goal. Yet their slow progress entails a struggle within the beautiful mesh of gold and silver their creator provides for them, while the gods continue, without our ever being able to pierce through the haze of their purpose, to dictate a policy of Unconditional Surrender from their country seat on Mount Olympus.'

This vision, or rather, this intimation exhales on a background of the Victorian country house which the author of *Left Hand, Right Hand* ought to know better than the best of us. Sir Osbert renders his picture more worth our contemplation by some striking

⁵ *The Novels of George Meredith and some Notes on the English Novel*, by Sir Osbert Sitwell, Bart. O.U.P. pp. 12. 2s.

allusions to Samuel Butler and a searching comparison with Dickens. Like some other good lecturers he begins by interesting his audience in himself.

Sir Osbert also makes some unforgettable references to Thomas Hardy who has obviously impressed him deeply. So we turn with added interest to J. G. Southworth's views⁶ on that novelist's poetry. He begins with a really helpful introduction on the conditions mostly mid and late Victorian, under which his author composed his verse. There is nothing particularly new but, as a collective statement, this bird's-eye view of background and environment is unexpected. It arouses our curiosity or challenges our judgement, and we turn to the explanation with a mind full of questions.

His answers, again, are not remarkable for their originality, except that Southworth is one of the few university lecturers who does not try to discover in his author virtues which have not been discovered before. Instead of adding one or more cubits to Hardy's stature, he seems more inclined to subtract them. To convince us he begins by discussing the range of his poet's themes, and apparently comes to the conclusion that they can be epitomized in *A Young Man's Epigram on Existence*, too characteristic not to be quoted:

*A senseless school, where we must give
Our lives that we may learn to live!
A dolt is he who memorizes
Lessons that leave no time for prizes.*

After this synthesis we are invited to inspect his workmanship—diction, imagery, prosody architectonics, and sense of nature ('the sounding-board for his own soul'). And what is the issue? That Hardy seldom reached the highest level, except by accident. As a technician he was second-rate because, like most of his contemporaries, he was tied to the Victorian traditional versification which could not carry all he had to say. At the same time he was post-Victorian in his conceptions and applications of human consciousness. As a psychologist he needed the resources and suggestiveness of twentieth-century technique. Besides he could

⁶*The Poetry of Thomas Hardy*, by J. G. Southworth. New York: Columbia Univ. Press. pp. xi+250. 16s.

not see far enough for really great poetry because his observation was limited by temperament and talent. He was insensible to the concealed power of words. Even in his lyrical, reflective excursions, he was restricted to the narrative aspect of his theme. He lacked 'the inspired conviction of the majesty and dignity of which the human spirit is capable'. But at any rate he examined the world within his earth-bound compass, and spoke out with lucidity and conviction.

The reader should compare this assessment with C. M. Bowra's estimate.⁷ He was certainly well advised to make his poet speak for himself as well as through the mind of the lecturer. Obviously very few poems could be quoted within an hour, and Bowra has the tact and skill to choose those not subject to frequent quotation. Yet with his chain of commentary and explanation he constructs a surprisingly persuasive idea of Hardy's genius—his peculiarly penetrating note of pity, his irony and spirit of protest, the so-to-speak 'earthiness' of his strong yet subtle style and (*pace* Southworth) his phraseology. The lecturer finds time to dwell on the crisis of Hardy's life for those who want 'the key to interpretation'.

Should anyone, after this conflict of opinions, hesitate over the right approach to the poetic personality, he will learn much from the late G. S. Gordon's lecture on Robert Bridges.⁸ It was delivered about eighteen years ago and his widow recently discovered the manuscript in a drawer, and felt that she ought to prepare it for publication. She certainly ought. This fugitive effort (which apparently did not satisfy the author) has all the charm and grace of Gordon's style at his best. One cannot expect anything new in a one hour talk. Perhaps the central idea is to be found in the pronouncement on *The Testament of Beauty*:

'That preoccupation with form which determined the natal chances of his last poem was a characteristic of Mr. Bridges all his life, and one of his principal later investigations, pursued even through the morass of quantitative hexameters, was to find a form of verse loose limbed enough, and sufficiently capacious and accommodating to admit humour and philosophy.'

⁷ *The Lyrical Poetry of Thomas Hardy*, by C. M. Bowra. Univ. College, Nottingham. Byron Foundation Lecture, 1946.

⁸ *Robert Bridges*, by G. S. Gordon. The Rede Lecture, 1931. C.U.P. 1946. pp. 38. 1s. 6d.

But the attitude and instinct of the critic are best revealed in the unpedantic, even unacademic glimpses of Bridges' career and character; 'by which I mean that history of the spiritual and artistic life, which is more especially the biography of poets'. In this case we can almost see the poet standing at the critic's elbow and telling him the truth. Incidentally Gordon draws attention to the quantity and quality of Bridges' prose writings.

There is also something stimulating and suggestive in N. Frye's short essay on Yeats's symbolism.⁹ The author certainly arrives at a clear exposition or appreciation of what the poet terms the *mask* and the *counter-mask*. 'The artist searches for a mask, originally to conceal his natural self, but ultimately to reveal his imaginative self, the body of his art.' This is well known, and the critic then goes on to show that the symbolism which seems to protest against the conditions of the poet's life ends as a reflection of what he feels within his soul; all he would wish to have but does not find in his surroundings. It is a case of 'imaginative opposition'. Moreover the allegory or symbolization must also reflect what passes in the souls of his readers and audiences; 'their common sub-consciousness'. Thus there is an essential difference between the language of the poet—his verbal conventions and phraseology—and the images and ideas which his symbolism evokes. These latter, however disguised, belong to his age, have a local, topical or temporary significance and should be studied as such, not as the statement of a philosophy, religion or mythology. Their values depend on their associations. Consequently the critic (in Frye's opinion) should be 'a grammarian of imagery'.

This year has been unusually fruitful in the study of poetry, but the volume which ought to arouse, though it does not wholly satisfy, the most interest is F. O. Matthiessen's inquiry into T. S. Eliot.¹⁰ This distinguished critic has already been once discussed and once mentioned in the present section, and is always worth reading, because literature seems to be for him not so much a profession as the breath of his life. Besides, he can *write*, for

⁹ *Yeats and the Language of Symbolism*, by Northrop Frye. pp. 17.

¹⁰ *The Achievement of T. S. Eliot: An Essay on the Nature of Poetry*, by F. O. Matthiessen. Second edition, revised and enlarged. O.U.P. New York. pp. xviii + 202. 18s.

despite his rather diffuse and crowded manner, he is a master of effective phraseology. Nevertheless the essay leaves the present writer with an unanswered question in his mind: is not our generation tempted to take Eliot too seriously? At any rate Matthiessen uses him as a stalking horse whereby to illustrate what poetry ought to mean to us, and mostly finds his best illustrations elsewhere.

He begins with a remarkable attempt to bring Eliot's mind into focus, to unify his apparent irrelevances and eccentricities by penetrating to the fundamental inspiration of poetry, which is not thought, much less philosophy, but the emotional equivalent of thought. That is to say the poet has to feel in his bones and blood the spiritual impulse which unifies our sense of life, and he will become conscious of it as a tragic revolt against evil and will reproduce that impression through style, imagery and emotional experience. Existence is a battle, waged from within against what is outside. So it has always been, witness Dante above all others, but in our day the mind is oppressed by a bewildering variety of knowledge.

'Our critic claims that his poet has 'that peculiar honesty which in a world too frightened to be honest is peculiarly terrifying'. So he takes up the aspects of Eliot's poetry one by one, admitting that his range is limited by his burden of suffering; dwelling on his technical expertness in conveying the fluctuations of his mind. But in the end he confesses that the poet, despite his genius for expressiveness, both in prose and verse, could not fully catch the sense of his age, as the great masters had done. He wrestled with the main problems, but 'his mind is too heavily concrete, his insight too purely intuitive'.

Unfortunately, as one passes from chapter to chapter, our steps become less sure-footed, simply because that is the difficulty under which the author labours. Aesthetics gradually obscure Eliot, and consequently Eliot obscures aesthetics.

Both Eliot and Matthiessen allude to James Joyce, so we turn to R. M. Kain's essay¹¹ which claims so much for this unutterable Rabelaisian whom few Englishmen could or would read. The critic does not pretend that *Ulysses* is easy. But as Joyce wrote it

¹¹ *Fabulous Voyager. James Joyce's 'Ulysses'*, by R. M. Kain. Univ. of Chicago Press and C.U.P. pp. xii + 299. 22s. 6d.

with his blood, labouring over each sentence with a diabolical intensity, it must be more than a mere mystification. His admirer sets out to reveal the inner significance.

Joyce, we are told, had a profound yet microscopic insight into the peculiar temper of the twentieth century, that is to say, the distrust of rationalism and an undefined hankering for something more positive and meaningful. This spiritual helplessness, or, in his own phrase, 'keylessness' is most visible in the chaos of industrial society which inhibits us from living up to the ordinary standards of goodwill and corrupts our innate sense of decency; so the disease of the age is most virulent in big cities. Accordingly Joyce pitches his scene in Dublin and launches two average men on a day's round among its more or less middle-class activities. They are Stephen the introvert, a thwarted intellectual, and Leopold Bloom, the extravert, a business man obsessed by memories, desires and futile hopes. Both labour under the loneliness of modern metropolitan existence. In fact they are the counterparts to Gulliver, Candide and Rasselas, and under contemporary conditions illustrate a segment of that journey which we call life. The most astonishing quality of the parable is not only its realism (especially in the accessory scenes and secondary characters), but its microscopic exactitude; with the result that the shortcomings and contradictions of everyday civilization, from dawn to dusk, on a typical Dublin background may be glimpsed, together with the pitiful crumbs of interest and consolation to which the human soul, in this atmosphere, languidly inclines. Thus this unwritten diary of a commonplace man becomes an ignoble microcosm of modern existence, at rare instances not altogether ignoble.

Many readers will be grateful for this exegesis, which not only explains the inexplicable, but focuses our attention on the problem of our age. Few, if any, readers will accept Kain's extravagant admiration which ranks this novelist with the greatest of the great.

Much the same moral and humanistic interest is developed, but more comprehensively, in E. B. Burgum's inquiry¹² into the philosophy of the novel and its present plight. Old-fashioned fiction, he asserts, has lost its vocation simply because the average typical

¹² *The Novel and the World's Dilemma*, by E. B. Burgum. O.U.P. New York. pp. 352. \$3.75.

member of society does not really know how he lives and why he lives. He has no rooted faith, being incapable of consistency whether in thought or action. Consequently when we peer beneath his conduct (as a novelist should) we see nothing but aimlessness, incoherence and hand-to-mouth morality. Such is 'the world's dilemma' and the novel's dilemma, since it has now superseded (or nearly so) older forms of spiritual expressiveness.

The novel necessarily reflects what is good and bad, since it is a mirror. So if it is to fulfil this function it must create an outlook, an inspiration; otherwise it will not play its proper part. It must look for that which the modern world has lost and most needs. That is 'a society which beneath the eternal disorder of the surface is dynamically functioning toward goals of accepted value'. Such is the only basis for psychological and social integration. Burgum surveys the efforts which have been made and concludes that the most promising follow the lead of some philosophy, or at least ideology. They give form to the formless by submitting it to a specific idea. For instance, Kafka goes to Kierkegaard, Proust to Bergson, and others to Freud. But whatever his doctrine, the novelist must emphasize the conduct of the individual in society; otherwise he will miss the inexhaustible variety of human nature. According to the philosopher critic, only a small group, emerging on the 'thirties, have so far half succeeded in installing the social unit in a world of ideas.

Intellectual and social disintegration is an old story, but Burgum has rendered a valuable service, especially to university students, by putting the case so explicitly and dogmatically in so comparatively few pages.

As a contrast the reader might turn to Lemonnier's¹³ examination of Poe's influence in France. That author belongs to an earlier period of the nineteenth century, but English students will be able by comparison to follow the development of our own thrillers, police stories, and mystery tales, and trace the underlying spirit. Incidentally the essayist gives a bibliography of French books on Poe.

Apart from all these speculative and stimulating monographs,

¹³ *Edgar Poe et les Conteurs Français*, par Léon Lemonnier. Paris: Aubier. pp. 166.

several cursory and unacademic publications have appeared. *The Trollope Reader*¹⁴ will be welcomed because of its bright colloquial introduction which gives a good idea of the novelist's chequered life, and recalls the many and often unhappy experiences which developed his talent and stored his mind. Nor have the editors forgotten to note the journal which Trollope kept for ten years. They also claim that 'the leisurely extendedness' of this Victorian lends itself to anthological treatment. The English reader will judge for himself, but Americans ought to enjoy the many glimpses of England in the 'good old times', not by any means too good, according to Trollope.

Herman Melville's¹⁵ *Moby-Dick* has been re-issued with a crisp scholarly introduction by a Princeton professor of English, giving a clear outline of the novelist's career, and of the humanism—the war against evil—which the reader ought to look for. One most attractive feature is the seventeen pages of photographs and pictures, setting out the dangerous and expert trade of the sperm whaler, and the terrors of the monster as artists imagined him to be.

A 1946 publication, R. L. Green's *Andrew Lang*,¹⁶ has been belatedly received. The reader must decide how far Lang's reputation will rest on his services to our native thought and language. Certainly no one but a master of English could have achieved so much for the translation of Homer; no one could have given so much life to folk-lore and mythology without the soul of a humanist and the instincts of a poet; very few could have blended so imperturbably the spirit of Balliol and Merton with the avocations of Fleet Street. Yet despite Green's advocacy, his place in our literature will probably continue to be a doubtful claim. However, the biography is surprisingly factual and well documented—quite a constructive achievement—and not only revives a forgotten personality but establishes the unity of his many-sided career. So we have a life-story with an atmosphere, and the biographer should

¹⁴ *The Trollope Reader*, ed. by E. C. Dunn and M. E. Dodd. O.U.P. New York. pp. xxii+433.

¹⁵ '*Moby-Dick*' or *The Whale*, by Herman Melville, ed. by W. Thorp. New York: O.U.P. pp. xxxi+532. 12s. 6d.

¹⁶ *Andrew Lang. A Critical Biography with a short-Title Bibliography of the Works of Andrew Lang*. R. L. Green. E. Ward. pp. xi+265. 15/- 1946.

be thanked because he evokes the *ambience* of late Victorian culture.

The collection of books and pamphlets noticed in this section, though incomplete, is more than usually significant. It reveals two distinct tendencies in the business of criticism. On the one hand there is the older attitude of the academic authority who dwells objectively on the qualities of his writer as an individuality, as a master of his art, worth reading because he trains the reader's literary taste. On the other hand, there emerges the intention to employ criticism as a cure for the chaos and disintegration of the age, not as an escape, as if scholars should search for a clue to intellectual consciousness, thus giving their answer to Benda's *Trahison des Clercs*.

By FREDERICK S. BOAS

As was the case in 1946 the articles in periodicals relating to this period dealt chiefly in 1947 with American writers. But this section may begin with a few concerning some English novelists.

In *Thomas Hardy and the Reform League* (N. & Q., 6 Sept.) George W. Sherran recalls that when Hardy was a draughtsman in Arthur Blomfield's offices at 8 Adelphi Terrace, the ground-floor below was tenanted by the Reform League, a very radical body. There was considerable friction between it and Blomfield's pupils, but the neighbourhood of these extreme reformers may, in Sherran's view have lent a 'political tinge' to Hardy's quarrel with the organization of human society, especially as reflected in *The Poor Man and the Lady*, his first novel, which was never published.

Wayne Burns discusses the remarkable relations between *Charles Reade and the Collinses* (M.L.N., June), which began with a violent quarrel and ended after Mortimer's death by the dedication by his wife, Frances, of one of his posthumous works to Reade. Burns points out that the story in its essentials is most fully told by Frank Merivale in an article in *Temple Bar*, though with some bias in favour of the Collinses. They had attacked Reade in two pseudonymous letters, accusing him of plagiarism in *The Wandering Heir* and had drawn upon themselves the outraged novelist's

fierce denunciation. But Reade, though quarrelsome, believed in Christian forgiveness. When he heard that Collins's widow was in trouble he drove down to her house and without disclosing who he was thrust a roll of banknotes into her hand. It was not till later that she learned his identity.

Francesco Cordasco in *George Moore and Edouard Dujardin* (M.L.N., April) emphasizes what he considers the insufficiently recognized debt of the English novelist to the French writer of whom he said, 'To none have I given so ardent an ear as I have to Edouard Dujardin'. This influence is especially notable in Moore's later religious novels, *The Lake* and *The Brook Kerith*, wherein there are echoes of their long theological discussions in Dujardin's Paris apartment.

Ralph Ellis in *The Lake* is fashioned on the model of Dujardin, and it is from the Frenchman's *La Source du Fleuve Chréflien* that Moore drew largely the conception of a human Jesus that he presented in *The Brook Kerith*.

Raymond Adams in *Emerson's Brother and the Mousetrap* suggests the genesis of a well-known sentence of R. W. Emerson. 'If a man can write a better book, preach a better sermon, or make a better mouse-trap, than his neighbour, though he builds his house in the woods, the world will make a beaten path to his door.' He appears to have used it as an impromptu in one of his California lectures in 1871. He had written something remarkably similar in its general import in his *Journal* in 1855, with the addition, 'If a man knows the law, people will find him out, though he live in a pine shanty, and resort to him'. Emerson's youngest brother Charles had studied law in Webster's office, and when a question arose as to where he should settle, Webster exclaimed 'Let him settle in the midst of the back woods of Maine, the clients will throng after him'. Adams suggests that these words were echoed later by Emerson.

Nathalia Wright finds *A Source for Melville's 'Clarel'* in Dean Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine* (M.L.N., Feb.). Melville may have read Stanley's book, published in March 1856, before his visit to Palestine in the following October. In any case he had a copy of the 1863 issue, in which he made a number of markings. As the

Dean's itinerary in Palestine was wider than Melville's, the American was chiefly indebted to Stanley in passages describing scenes not visited by him.

The most detailed of these is that relating to Petra, where Miss Wright prints the verses from Melville's poem side by side with Stanley's prose of which they are constantly verbally reminiscent. The account of the celebration of the Greek Easter is also borrowed, for Melville's visit was in January. Other debts of *Clarel* to *Sinai and Palestine* are indicated, though there is a contrast in the final words of the Dean and the poet in the Holy Land. It is strange that such open plagiarism should have taken place without acknowledgement.

George Arms in '*Moby-Dick*' and '*The Village Blacksmith*' (*N. & Q.*, 3 May) suggests that Melville's portrait of the blacksmith in Chapter CXII of *Moby-Dick* was intended as a satirical rejoinder to Longfellow's picture of the village blacksmith, which from 1840 had been accepted as that of the model working man. Arms quotes some verbal parallels from the novel and the poem in support of his view that Melville's blacksmith who went a-whaling because the sea offered 'a life more oblivious than death' was intended to be the counterpoise of Longfellow's idealized figure.

Tyrus Hillway in *Melville's Art: One Aspect* (*M.L.N.*, Nov.) combats the view that Melville at thirty-five had come to despise the written word. He would account for the decline in Melville's literary powers after *Moby-Dick* by the fact that he was not an 'inventor but an assimilator'. The two chief sources were his reading and his own experience, played upon by his imagination. After *Moby-Dick* these sources were almost exhausted and he gradually deserted prose for the compensating rhythm of poetry.

In *Poe and Mesmerism* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.) Sidney E. Lind shows how in three of his stories Poe reflected the intense interest in what was regarded in his day as the new science of mesmerism. *A Tale of the Ragged Mountains* (April 1944) is a case study of mesmerism; *Mesmeric Revelation* (August 1944) concerns itself with metaphysical discussion between the narrator and his mesmerized subject, who dies while in the trance; and *The Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar* (Dec. 1945) goes yet further in

applying mesmerism 'to keep alive a man who should, according to the doctors attending him, have expired'. Lind analyses these tales, especially the first, which he claims to be mainly a study in hypnosis. In the two others Poe was considerably indebted to C. H. Townshend's *Facts in Mesmerism*, the 1844 edition, as also in *M. Valdemar* to J. Kerner's *The Seeress of Prevorst*. Lind holds that Poe believed in mesmerism as a valid sub-branch of science, and he rejects the view, started afterwards by Poe, that the two later tales were hoaxes.

The article by Henry N. Smith, *Walt Whitman and Manifest Destiny* (*H.L.Q.*, Aug.) is an amply illustrated elaboration of statements in the opening paragraph. 'He was committed to America as against Europe, and to the American West as against the American East. . . . From the first publication of *Leaves of Grass* in 1855 to the end of his life, he returned again and again to the themes of the imperial mission of the United States and the peculiar role of the West within American society.'

Smith proceeds to indicate the successive stages through which these governing conceptions passed. Whitman begins with the demand for a new American culture, with a native literature, grounded in Nature, and divorced from the European tradition. In the first two editions of *Leaves of Grass* (1855 and 1856) he speaks for his country as a whole. But before the third edition (1860) he had realized more fully the vastness of the territory waiting to be settled beyond the Mississippi. He was influenced by the current theory crystallized in Berkeley's line, 'Westward the course of Empire takes its way'. With the American advance to the Pacific coast, where it faced Asia, whence humanity started, a cycle of universal history is closed. This idea finds voice in Section 10 (*Enfant d'Adam*) of the 1860 edition of *Leaves of Grass*. It is developed further in some of the poems in *Drum-Taps* (1865), of which the most significant is 'Pioneers! O Pioneers!' In *Passage to India* (1871), with the Union Pacific 'tying the Eastern to the Western Sea' an era of international brotherhood is foreshadowed. And finally in 'Passage to more than India' Whitman has 'worked his way entirely through *Manifest Destiny* as a political conception to come out upon the highest plane of his mysticism'.

To *English* (Spring) Frederick B. Millett contributes in an

'exchange' article a discriminating survey of *American Literature, 1940-5*. He deals in turn with each of its chief aspects. Among the older established writers the chief success was achieved by Ernest Hemingway with *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. Newer writers sought to evaluate afresh America's past and present, e.g. Thornton Wilder in *Our Town* and Orson Welles in *Citizen Kane*. There was a remarkable outburst of criticism, of both American and European literature, including the various studies of Henry James's work. Among the writers of novels and stories the achievement of Miss McCullers and Miss Welby gives Millett the conviction 'that America is witnessing the first gorgeous flowering of a southern renaissance that seems likely to rival—if not to surpass—the earlier cultural domination, first of New England and New York, and in the early twentieth century—of the Middle West.

Among notable publications of various types inspired by the war were Wendell Wilkie's *Our World*, Maxwell Anderson's plays, *Candle in the West* and *The Eve of St. Mark*, and Karl Shapiro's poems.

Millett also discusses the effect on American literature and *vice versa* of the presence in U.S.A. during the war of 'English exiles' like Aldous Huxley and W. H. Auden; French exiles like Jules Romain and André Maurois; and German refugees like Thomas Mann and Arthur Koestler. Henceforward Americans must always view 'the life of the flesh and of the spirit inside America . . . against the dark back-drop of world affairs'.

Karl Shapiro in *English Prosody and Modern Poetry* (E.L.H., June) discusses in turn the theories of the chief recent English prosodists. Saintsbury in his *History of English Prosody* comes first, representing the accentual system, and his three great laws of English prosody, 'foot-arrangement, equivalence and substitution'. His weakness, in Shapiro's eyes, was not to define further 'long' and 'short' or even 'foot'. Next is Sidney Lanier whose *Science of English Verse* expounds a system of temporal prosody, and claims that five forms of rhythm, three in 3-rhythm and two in 4-rhythm are the basis of English verse, with a predominance of the 3-rhythm. Shapiro comments on the merits and defects of Lanier's system.

Between Saintsbury and Lanier stands T. S. Omond in his *English Metrists* stating that the fundamental law of English verse

is 'the opposition between syllabic and temporal structure'. Shapiro thinks highly of Omond, except for his repudiation of Hopkins's theory of 'sprung rhythm'. But while recognizing the influential effect of Hopkins's preface, Shapiro insists that his system is not substantially different from that of Coleridge in *Christabel*.

Then shortly before the First World War a group of young American poets revolted both from the prosodic systems and 'hieratic language' of previous English poetry: 'There resulted a cleavage between scholarship (knowledge of the tradition of English poetry) and the poets themselves which still exists. . . . The funeral oration of the age was *The Waste Land*.' But now there are signs of a return to verse structures which twenty years ago were thought to be done with.

In *Muse in India* (English, Spring) Gordon Symes discusses *An Aspect of Alun Lewis*. In the poems which Lewis wrote during his year's residence in India in wartime he was subject to what he called 'the *laissez-faire* of the sun and the sterility'. He avoided the larger social and political themes, and dwelt on the simpler aspects of the Indian panorama. But, in Symes's view, 'the chief impact of India on Lewis . . . was to drive him more and more into himself and his preoccupations with love and death and separation'.

R. G. Howarth in *Hopkins and Sir Thomas More* (N. & Q., 6 Sept.) quotes some last lines by More in which he declares his trust to enter God's 'haven of heaven'. Their source is Psalm cvii, verses 28-30. Howarth suggests that S. M. Hopkins in his poem *Heaven-Haven*, while in debt to the same source, may also have had More, in whom he was specially interested, in mind.

Howarth also attempts an arrangement of *Hopkins's Earlier Poems* in the order of their composition (N. & Q., 14 June). He lists his verse, 'surviving and lost, fragmentary and complete, in exact order of composition (that is, inceptive or first version)' up to 1866 when Hopkins became a Jesuit. His sources, apart from those appearing in 'Poems' are chiefly H. House's edition of 'the Notebooks and Papers' and C. C. Abbott's edition of the Letters. Poems mentioned but not extant are given in square brackets.

In a letter to T.L.S. (5 April) on *Rupert Brooke at Cambridge*

Iolo A. Williams discusses the date when Brooke read his paper on 'Democracy and the Arts' to the Cambridge University Fabian Society. In the preface to an edition that had just been published, Geoffrey Keynes had said that this was probably in the spring or summer of 1910. But Williams heard the paper read after he had gone up to Cambridge in October 1910. It was possible that Brooke had previously read it to a college society in King's College.

Williams adds that he was a graduate at the time, as he had taken his degree in 1909, and that his full name was Rupert Chawner Brooke.

In '*The Shadow of the Glen*', and *The Widow of Ephesus* (P.M.L.A., March) David H. Greene defends Synge's first play from the imputation that it was a libel on Irish womanhood, and that in Nora's relations with young Michael Dara and in her departure from her elderly husband with the tramp, Synge was staging a version of the old European story of the Widow of Ephesus. Greene prints the tale told to Synge by an old man in Aran, which was the source of the play, and also another Galway version of the husband's shamming death to test his wife's fidelity. These prove that the story was current in the west of Ireland, and Greene shows that Synge's dramatic treatment of it, instead of lowering it, invested it with a poetic symbolism.

Greene is more critical of Synge's only two-act play in '*The Tinker's Wedding*.' *A Revaluation* (P.M.L.A., Sept.). He gives details of the six drafts through which the piece went from its original one-act form to that in which it was published and acted in London. Though admitting that it was an 'artistic failure', Greene claims that 'its real value is an important connecting link between the one-act plays of Synge's apprenticeship and the three-act plays of his maturity'.

John R. Moore in *Sherlock Holmes Borrows a Plot* (M.L.Q., March) traces the parallels and differences between Thackeray's *Miss Shum's Husband* in *The Yellowplush Papers* and Conan Doyle's *The Man with the Twisted Lip*. In each case it is the story of the apparently well-placed suitor who, after his marriage, is found out to be a successful beggar in a rich London district. Moore points out the differences that necessarily arise from the

contrast between Yellowplush and Dr. Watson as narrators, and from the introduction of the master detective. Thackeray shows the wife and her family tracking 'Altamont' to his crossing. Doyle's more subtle solution is Holmes's reasoning that the difference between 'St. Clair' and 'the man with the twisted lip' is a matter of make-up.

R. W. Martin refreshes our memories of *W. N. P. Barbellion* (*English*, Spring), whose writings, especially *The Journal of a Disappointed Man*, won him a reputation before his premature death in 1919 at the age of thirty-one. Barbellion was the pseudonym of Frederick Bruce Cummings, a Devonian, whose earliest passion was for natural history, and who in 1911 was appointed on the staff of the Natural History Museum.

But partly owing to ill health in a body 'over six feet high and as thin as a skeleton' he went through a war in the soul concerning what he called his triple personality: '(1) the respectable youth; (2) the foul-mouthed commentator and critic; (3) the real but unknown I'. Martin traces sympathetically his later developments, especially as revealed in his *Last Diary*, where, in his own words, '*Love and Unselfishness* have captured the approval not only of my ethical but my intellectual side as well'.

Cyril Bailey contributed to the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. XXXI, a memoir of *John William Mackail, O.M.*,¹⁶ who had been President of the Academy, 1932-6. He gives an account of Mackail's early career at Ayr, Edinburgh and Balliol, where he won the Newdigate with a poem on 'Thermopylae' and the chief classical scholarships, and was elected a Fellow and Lecturer. His appointment in 1884 in the Education Department of the Privy Council diverted him to administrative duties which, however, left sufficient leisure for literary work.

Bailey writes appreciatively of Mackail's *Epigrams from the Greek Anthology* (1890), his *Latin Literature* (1895) and his edition of the *Aeneid* (1930), and more critically of his translation of *The Odyssey* in quatrian stanzas (1903-10). His tenure of the Oxford Chair of Poetry was marked by three volumes ranging over varied poetic fields (1909-11), and at a later date he concentrated more on our own literature in *Studies of English Poets*

¹⁶ Also printed separately. O.U.P. pp. 11, with portrait. 2s.

(1928) and *The Approach to Shakespeare* (1926). Partly out of his connexion by marriage with Burne-Jones and the Pre-Raphaelites' arose his *Life of William Morris* (1899), 'one of the best of English biographies'.

As Bailey sums up, Mackail 'was an amateur in the fullest and best sense. . . . He loved poetry because he had experienced its supreme value as a guide to life. . . . It was this love which he wanted to kindle, or to rekindle, in his own generation.'

XV

BIBLIOGRAPHICA

By STRICKLAND GIBSON

THE year 1947 was not marked by the publication of any new major Bibliographical work bearing on English studies, but it is encouraging to find that a new edition of the first volume of Besterman's *Bibliography of Bibliographies*,¹ first published in 1940, has been called for. The work, which has now been brought down to 1945, is limited to separately published bibliographies, and includes old books such as Bale's *Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum Summarium* (1548) and Rogers and Ley's *Exact Catalogue of Plays* [1656].

Character-books have already received bibliographical attention from Gwendolen Murphy. In *A Bibliography of the Theophrastan Character*² the object of the author, Chester N. Greenough, is to present an adequate bibliography of the English contributions to both Theophrastan and Clarendon (portrait) types, either separately published characters or character-books. The entries are arranged in one continuous chronological list from 1495 to 1941.

The Bibliographies of English writers published in 1947 were confined to those of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—Harriet Martineau, Rider Haggard, H. W. Garrod, T. S. Eliot, and Robert Frost.³ A bibliography of translations into

¹ *A World Bibliography of Bibliographies*, by Theodore Besterman. Vol. I A-L. 2nd edition (privately printed). coll. xxviii + 1450.

² *A Bibliography of the Theophrastan Character in English with several portrait Characters*, by Chester Noyes Greenough. Prepared for publication by J. Milton French. Harvard Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. 347. 55s.

³ *Harriet Martineau: A Bibliography of her separately printed books*, compiled by Joseph B. Rivlin. New York: New York Public Library. pp. 150.

A Bibliography of the works of Sir Henry Rider Haggard, 1856-1925, by J. E. Scott. Takeley: Elkin Mathews. pp. 258, with 6 illustrations.

List of the Writings of H. W. Garrod. Privately printed. pp. 17, with portrait.
A Bibliographical Check-List of the Writings of T. S. Eliot, compiled by Donald Gallup. New Haven: Yale Univ. Library. pp. 128.

The Intervals of Robert Frost: A Critical Bibliography, by Louis and Esther Mertins. With an Introduction by Fulmer Mood. Univ. of California Press. pp. 91, with portrait.

English of works by Rilke was also published.⁴

Students of the foreign sources of Shakespeare's plays will be interested in Selma Guttman's bibliography of recent contributions to the subject. Each entry is followed by a précis of the views expressed by the author. The six sections of the work are Latin, Greek, French, Italian, Spanish, and a few other languages.⁵

Willis W. Pratt's Calendar of MSS. relating to Byron in the University of Texas Library records over seventy original Byron letters and documents and some thirty poems, many with unrecorded variants from the published versions. In all, 257 items are calendered. For the present the publication of the MSS. is reserved to the University of Texas. The writer states that the library possesses nearly all Byron's published works in their original state.⁶

It may not be generally known that the British Museum occasionally publishes in a separate form some of the more important headings of the General Catalogue of Printed Books. The heading COLERIDGE was so issued. Books containing manuscript notes by Coleridge are also included. The appearance of Ashley shelfmarks indicate that the copies in the Ashley Library are now available to readers.⁷

The efforts of the National Book League to stimulate interest in English studies deserve mention. The League is a society uniting all those who are interested in books—authors, publishers, printers and binders, booksellers, librarians, educationists, and readers. Its exhibition of English poetry⁸ was the most compre-

⁴ *Rilke in English: A Tentative Bibliography*, by Richard von Mises. Harvard College Library. pp. 39. \$2.

⁵ *The Foreign Sources of Shakespeare's Works: An annotated Bibliography of the commentary written on this subject between 1904 and 1940, together with lists of certain translations available to Shakespeare*, by Selma Guttman. New York: King's Crown Press. pp. xxi + 168. 15s.

⁶ *Lord Byron and his Circle*, compiled by Willis W. Pratt. Austin. Texas. pp. 56.

⁷ *Coleridge: An excerpt from the General Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum*, Coll. 36. 3s. 6d. (Sold at the Museum.)

⁸ *English Poetry: A Catalogue of first and early editions of works of the English poets from Chaucer to the present day*, compiled by John Hayward. C.U.P. pp. x + 140. 6d. An illustrated edition containing reproductions of the title pages of all the books, is in preparation.

hensive and valuable loan collection of first and early editions of English poetry ever shown in public. Another exhibition arranged by the League was devoted to Victorian fiction.⁹

The following articles appeared in *The Library*.¹⁰ Hilda M. Hamlyn in *Eighteenth-Century Circulating Libraries* (March) gives a succinct account of the growth of the non-proprietary subscription libraries which had their origin in those portions of booksellers' stock set apart for loan, the best-known example being the lending library of Francis Kirkman, the Restoration bookseller, who specialized in plays. The term 'circulating library' is not found until 1742 from which time such libraries show a steady growth. By 1800 the number outside London was estimated at not less than 'one thousand', mostly situated at fashionable watering places. The earliest book on the subject, *The Use of Circulating Libraries Considered* (1797), suggests that out of a stock of 1,500 volumes, novels should number 1,050, and romances 130, but an examination of the various catalogues shows the proportion of fiction to be about 20 per cent of the stock or less.

In *The Cathedral Libraries Catalogue* (June) Margaret S. G. Hands reports progress on her work which has the year 1700 as the date limit. No details are at present available about the English books preserved in cathedral libraries.

An Examination of the Method of Proof Correction in 'Lear' by Fredson Bowers (June) is an amplification and reassessment of W. W. Greg's *The Variants in the First Quarto of 'King Lear'*. The writer attempts to substitute a more conventional hypothesis for certain features of Greg's investigations.

In *Horace Walpole's Library* (June) W. S. Lewis enlarges on the importance of the library at Strawberry Hill on the biography of Walpole. A list of the books, based on the MS. catalogue of 1763, has long been in preparation and when published, Lewis believes, will throw considerable light on the character of the collector.

⁹ *Victorian Fiction: An exhibition of original editions*, arranged by John Carter with the collaboration of Michael Sadleir. C.U.P. pp. xiii + 50. with 16 plates. 6s.

¹⁰ *The Library* (*Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*). Fifth Series. Vol. I, Nos. 3-4; II, No. 1. O.U.P.

William Peery in *The 1613 quarto of Field's 'Amends for Ladies'* (1618) (June) warns editors not to reproduce any of the six copies of the quartos cited, but to select the text from those sheets which exhibit corrected states. The same writer also contributes (Sept.-Dec.) an article on *Correction at Press in the Quarto of 'Law-Trickes'* (1608).

Paul S. Dunkin submits in *Foxe's 'Actes and Monuments', 1570, and Single-page Imposition* an examination and review of L. M. Oliver's article on that subject which appeared in *The Library*, 5th Series, Vol. I, pp. 49-56.

The following articles appeared in the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*.¹¹ William R. Parker contributes in *Fletcher's Milton: A First Appraisal* a searching criticism of *John Milton's Complete Poetical Works Reproduced in Photographic Facsimile*, edited by H. F. Fletcher, Vols. 1, 2. Parker expresses dissatisfaction with Fletcher's collation of 42 copies of the *Poems* (1673) and 146 copies of the 1667-9 editions of *Paradise Lost*, and prints four pages of errors noted in the collations recorded in the first volume.

An especially interesting article is Charlton Hinman's *Mechanized Collation: A Preliminary Report*. Many editors know the exacting labour of collating copies of the same edition of a printed book in order to discover variant readings, 'hence it will surely be agreed that a mechanical device which would make accurate, high-speed collation possible would scarcely be unwelcome to bibliographers'. Such a device would also be invaluable in the detection of cancels, re-settings, fakes and forgeries. Briefly, the procedure is to micro-film the pages to be compared and then to mount the films on slides. The images of the two pages to be collated are projected on a screen from each of two projectors, and the two images are exactly superimposed. When the two pages being compared are identical, the screen shows a single, motionless picture; but when variants occur very prominent flickers appear. A further report will be awaited with interest.

Trollope's *The American Senator* was published in 1877, preceded by serial publication 1876-7. The original MS. is now in

¹¹ Vol. 41. New York. \$3.

the W. R. Hearst collection, and Robert H. Taylor in *The Manuscript of Trollope's 'The American Senator'* prints nine pages of collation with the first edition.

A contribution to the routine of a seventeenth-century printing-house is provided by William Peery in *Correction at Press in 'The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green' [1659]*.

Longfellow's debt to Hawthorne for the story of *Evangeline* is discussed by Manning Hawthorne and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana in *The Origin of Longfellow's 'Evangeline'*; and the priority of the so-called 'Long' and 'Lo' editions of *Evangeline* is considered by Carroll A. Wilson, who finds that 'the copies of the first edition of *Evangeline* reading 'Long' within had been spread the snow-white' were those first printed, but copies reading 'Lo' and 'Long' were published at the same time.'

An Addition to the Bibliography of Samuel Johnson by Herman W. Liebert refers to a book revised by Johnson, namely, *Poems to Her Majesty in which is added a new Tragedy, entitled 'The Earl of Somerset'* by Henry Lucas (1779). In the prefatory address to the play Johnson's help is acknowledged by the author. Boswell confirms this, but the passage in Boswell's *Journal* was not reproduced in the *Life*.

Criteria for classifying hand-printed books as Issues and Variant States by Fredson Bowers offers a solution of the classification of books by edition, impression, issue, and state; but here confined to *issue* and *state*. The recommendation is that 'alterations or additions made to constitute *ideal copy* may be called *states*, whether made before or after publication; and only alterations or additions important enough to cause a cancellans title to be printed to call attention to them constitute *re-issue*.'

Philo Calhoun and Howell J. Heaney in *Dickensiana in the Rough* severely criticize William Miller's *The Dickens Student and Collector* (1946) chiefly on the ground of completeness and indexing. In two appendixes the authors print 'A list of some sources to be consulted in compiling a bibliography of Dickensiana' and 'Some special sources of Dickensiana and Dickens bibliography not included in the bibliographical section of Miller's book'.

In *The Proofs of 'Garæth and Lynette' in the Wider Collection* Edgar F. Shannon, Jr., attempts to establish their place in the development of the text of the *Idyll*. The proofs are those of the fifth volume of the library edition of Tennyson's *Works* (Strahan & Co., 1872-3).

All students will welcome the *Harvard Library Bulletin* of which the first volume was published in 1947. An article by Keyes D. Metcalf on *The Undergraduate and the Harvard Library, 1765-1877* does not, of course, bear on English studies, but that the works of Fielding should appear in a list of prohibited books (c. 1825) may be worth mention.

The sonnet, 'Spenser! a jealous honorer of thine' is discussed in *A Manuscript of John Keats at Dumbarton Oaks* by Ethel B. Clark, who states that the MS. is a first draft written on 5 February 1818.

The First separately printed English Translation of Horace by William A. Jackson reproduces a fragmentary broadside printed at London by Thomas Colwell [1565], 'The second Poesie of Horace rebuking Vice'. The translator was Lewis Evans, 'schoole-mayster'. Originally the translation was in two sheets, but no copy of the first is known.

The broadside described in *The earliest known English playbill* by William Van Lennep is assigned to about the year 1655. It announces that in 'John Harris's Booth, in Bartholomew Fair . . . is to be seen, the Court of *King Henry the Second*; and the Death of Fair *Rosamond*: with the merry Humours of *Punchinello*, and the *Lancashire-Witches*. As also the famous History of *Bungy* and Frier *Bacon*. . . .' A facsimile is given.

Yale University Library received the MSS. of Gertrude Stein's works together with her correspondence, a 'vast gathering of source material'; a gift of English sixteenth and seventeenth century books including works by Greene, Jonson, Fletcher, Braithwaite, Lovelace and Daniel; and some Sheridan MSS. given in honour of Professor Nettleton. The most important of the Sheridan MSS. are the Chetwynd MS. of the *School for Scandal* which was prepared for the Lord Chancellor's licence, and Sheridan's notebook for his unwritten comedy, *Affectation*.¹²

¹² *Yale Univ. Library Gazette*. Vol. 22.

A number of the *Princeton Univ. Library Chronicle*¹³ is devoted to the Morris L. Parrish collection of Victorian literature. The authors chiefly represented are Dickens, Thackeray, Bulwer Lytton, Kingsley, Trollope, Meredith, and Hardy. One writer raises the question about the upkeep and enrichment of special collections, and asserts that any institution acquiring one 'automatically assumes a moral obligation to maintain its growth or it shouldn't accept it in the first place', a very doubtful assumption. The librarian who collects is lost.

Albert Howard Carter has an article (*S. in Ph.*, June) *On the use of details of spelling, punctuation, and typography to determine the dependence of editions*, in which he discusses the relation of 'The Passionate Shepherds Song' in Ling's *Englands Helicon* (1600) to the text of the poem in the first quarto of *Love's Labour's Lost* (1598) and in the first or the second octavo of *The Passionate Pilgrim* (1599). Carter's conclusion is that the source of Ling's version of the poem is the second octavo of *The Passionate Pilgrim* (Folger Library).

An extra number of *S. in Ph.*¹⁴ is devoted to *Studies of British newspapers and periodicals from their beginning to 1800: A Bibliography* by Katherine Kirtley Weed and Richmond Pugh Bond. A noteworthy feature of this bibliography is that all the entries, except about forty, have been examined by one or the other of the compilers. *S. in Ph.* (April) also contained its detailed bibliography of *Recent Literature of the Renaissance*, with Hardin Craig as general editor. *Mod. Phil.* (May) had *Victorian Bibliography for 1946*, edited by Austin Wright. *M.L.Q.* (June) had a *Bibliography of Critical Arthurian Literature for 1946*, by J. J. Parry.

A new and unpretentious periodical with the curious title *Book Handbook*¹⁵ contains two articles on the eighteenth-century novelist, Robert Bage, whose works are now of great rarity. R. C. Bald of Cornell contributes some valuable notes on the Shakespeare Folios with tables for their identification and colla-

¹³ Vol. 8, No. 7. \$2 a year.

¹⁴ Extra series, No. 2. pp. iv + 233. 20s.

¹⁵ *Book Handbook: An illustrated quarterly for owners and collectors of Books*, Nos. 1-4. The Book Centre, London. N.W. 10. 2s. 6d. a part.

tion, and John Pashby adds to our bibliographical knowledge of Samuel Rogers.

Among the accessions of the Bodleian¹⁶ are the works of Walter Hilton (fifteenth century), and three seventeenth-century collections of Poems—'Divine Poems', Poems by John Polwhele, and Poems and translations by J. F. Later accessions include letters to Dr. Thomas Percy (eighteenth century); letters of J. H. Newman to his mother and members of the Mozley family, 1819-76; and literary notes and transcripts by G. Thorn-Drury. The Bodleian Library is so well known to students of English literature that they will welcome a lecture by F. S. Boas on *Sir Thomas Bodley and his Library* in *R.S.L. Essays by Divers Hands*, Vol. XXIII.

Among the accessions of the Houghton Library (Harvard) is a MS. of Thomas Killigrew's '*Clarasilla: A Tragic Commidey*' (1639) which once belonged to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. The text presents a different, and probably earlier, state from the printed version. The Library also obtained a MS. of Locke's *Of Education*, the greater part in the hand of his amanuensis, Sylvanus Brownover, but several pages are in his own hand.

The most notable English MSS. sold by auction were Higden's *Polychronicon* in Trevisa's translation (early fifteenth century), £200; Keats's poem 'On receiving a curious shell, 1815', in his autograph, £170; Georgiana Keats's scrapbook containing in Keats's autograph a sonnet to Miss Wylie, £340; and the autograph of George Eliot's *Brither Jacob*, £170.

The Bunyan collection formed by Sir Leicester Harmsworth, consisting of over 700 volumes, was sold on 27 January. It contained two complete copies of the first edition of the first part of *The Pilgrim's Progress*; one, a made-up copy, fetched £1,800; the other, in original binding, £4,400.

Among the other more important books sold at auction were: Higden's *Polychronicon*, translated by Trevisa, imperfect (Caxton, 1482), £800; *The Book of St. Albans*, imperfect (1486), £2,300; Voragine's *Golden Legend*, translated by Caxton, imperfect (Wynkyn de' Worde, 1493), £460; Caxton's translation of *Vitas Patrum*

¹⁶ *Bodleian Annual Reports*, 1946-7, 1947-8.

(Wynkyn de Worde, 1495), £850; Parker's *Dives and Pauper* (Wynkyn de Worde, 1496), £620; *The treatise of the thre kynges of Coleyne*, the only known perfect copy (Wynkyn de Worde, n.d.), £3,400; Fisher's *Fruytfull saynge of Dauid* (1508) £620; Laneham's *A Letter: whearin part of the entertainment vntoo the Queens Maiesty at Killingwoorth Castle is signified* [1575], £58; Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, 2 vols., slightly imperfect (1586-7), £520; *The Bible* (authorized version, 1611), £1,600; Montaigne's *Essayes*, translated by John Florio (1603), £145; Jonson's *Hymenaei* (1606), £165; Day's *Travailes of the three English brothers* (1607), £150; Speed's *Counter Scuffle*, ? first edition (1621) with other pieces, £140; a collection of 126 ballads (1650-1700), £190; Milton's *Poems both English and Latin*, first edition (1645), £145; Shirley's *Six new playes*, first edition (1653), £30; Johnson's *Vanity of Human Wishes*, first edition (1749), with an autograph letter of Johnson's, dated 19 June 1784, £73; Burns's *Poems* (1787) with blank spaces for the names on twenty pages filled in by Burns, £145; Shelley's *Proposal for putting reform to the vote*, presentation copy (1817), £220; Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland*, first edition, first issue (1865), £1,200; Dodgson's circular letter disclaiming connexion with Lewis Carroll, one page (1890), £110.

Although not strictly coming under the head of literature it may be recorded that a copy of *The whole Booke of Psalmes faithfully translated into English Metre*, commonly called the *Bay Psalter* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1640) fetched at auction \$151,000, the highest price ever paid for a printed book.

In 1847 Bernard Quaritch, the famous London bookseller, issued his first Catalogue. The event was marked by the publication of an illustrated Centenary Catalogue with an interesting introduction commemorating the Founder of the firm, and a portrait-study of him by his daughter. The catalogue contains *inter alia* a copy of the first edition of Fitzgerald's *Omar Khayyám* (Quaritch, 1859) and the finest known copy of Chapman's *Shadow of Night* (1594).

Hatchards of Piccadilly also commemorated their 150th anniversary.¹⁷

¹⁷ *Hatchards of Piccadilly, 1797-1947*, by James Laver. Hatchards. pp. 47 with 34 illustrations.

INDEX I

AUTHORS AND TITLES

Owing to limitations of space a number of titles in this Index are abbreviated

- Abbott, W. C., *Writings and Speeches of O. Cromwell*, Vol. IV, 183
- Acworth, B., *Swift*, 215
- Adams, R., *Emerson's Brother and the Mousetrap*, 261
- Addison, W., *The English Country Parson*, 8
- Adolf, H., *Oriental Sources for Wolfram's 'Parzifal'*, &c., 87; *Medieval Laughter*, 106
- Agostino, N. D', *Ideologia del Marlowe*, 144
- Allen, D. C., *Donne's 'Phoenix'*, 177
- Allison, A. F., *Crashaw's 'On a Prayer Booke'*, &c., 178
- Aldridge, A. O., *Needler's Knowledge of Shaftesbury*, 213
- Anderson, P. B., *Anonymous Critic of Milton*, 192
- Andrews, E., *History of Scientific English*, 30
- Ardenne, S. R. d' and Tolkien, J. R., *ipplen in 'Sawles Warde'*, 96
- Arms, G., *'Moby-Dick' and 'The Village Blacksmith'*, 262
- Arngart, O., *'As hende as hak in chete'*, 94
- Arthos, J., *Naive Imagination . . . of Macbeth*, 131
- Ashe, G., *Hamlet and Pyrrhus*, 132
- Aspinall, A., *Scott's Baronetcy*, 238
- Atkins, J. W. H., *English Literary Criticism: the Renaissance*, 107, 168
- Atkinson, A. D., *'Goldsmith and Defoe's Tour'*, 212
- Austin, W. B., *W. Withie's Notebook*, 116; *Gabriel Harvey*, 117; *R. Roche's 'Eustathia' and 'Lucrece'*, 138; *Spenser's Sonnet to Harvey*, 160; *'Lycidas' and Latin Elegies by G. Fletcher, the Elder*, 187
- Babcock, R. W., *Benevolence, Sensibility and Sentiment . . . and Genius, &c., in Some Eighteenth-Century Periodicals*, 224
- Bacon, W. A., *The Tempest*, IV, i, 123
- Bailey, C., *J. W. Mackail*, 267
- Baker, C., *Sir J. Thornbill as Bible Illustrator*, 196
- Baldwin, T. W., *Shakespeare's Five-Act Structure*, 125
- Bafdi, S. (ed.), *Ballate Popolari d' Inghilterra e di Scozia*, 95; *Book Belonging to Gray*, 216
- Baldock, A. J. A., *The Men in Buckram*, 123
- Bambas, R. C., *Verb Forms in -s and -th in Early Mod. English Prose*, 37
- Banks, T. H., *'Lycidas' and 'Pericles'*, 187
- Barker, Sir E. (ed.), *The Character of England*, 7, 29
- Barnes, G., *General American Speech Sounds*, 56
- Bartley, J. O., *Harington and Saint Basil*, 168
- Bax, C. (ed.), *Essays by Divers Hands*, Vol. XXIV, 13; (ed.), *Poetry of the Brownings*, 246
- Beer, G. S. de, *English Fifteenth-Century Pilgrimage poem*, 94; *St. Peter in 'Lycidas'*, 186
- Bell, C. C., *Edward Fairfax*, 165
- Benians, E. A. (ed.), *Journal of T. Hughes*, 206
- Bennett, H. S., *Production of Vernacular MSS. in the Fifteenth Century*, 100
- Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century, 102
- Bentley, G. E., *Swan of Avon and Bricklayer of Westminster*, 138
- Bentley, P., *The Brontës*, 242
- Bernbaum, E., *Unthought Springs of Civilization*, 18
- Besterman, T., *World Bibliography of Bibliographies*, Vol. I, 269
- Bethell, D. S., *The Winter's Tale*, 133
- Bickersteth, G. L., *The Golden World of 'King Lear'*, 131
- Binder, J., *More's 'Utopia' in English*, 110
- Blackburn, W., *Carlyle and Life of Sterling*, 241
- Blair, P. H., *Origin of Northumbria*, 57
- Blanchard, E., *Another Steele Letter*, 210
- Bland, D. S., *Chaucer and his Critics*, 74
- Bliss, W., *The Real Shakespeare*, 117
- Block, B., *English Verb Inflection*, 42
- Bluhm, H., *'Douce' Sources of Coverdale's Translation of the Twenty-third Psalm*, 109
- Blunden, E. (ed.), *Smart's Hymns for Children*, 205
- Boas, F. S., *Sir T. Bodley and his Library*, 276
- Boege, F., *Smollett's Reputation as a Novelist*, 217
- Bolinger, D. L., *More on Present Tense in English*, 43

- Bonfante, G., *Neolinguistic Position*, 27
 Bonnerot, L. (trs.), *L'Empedocles sur l'Étna*; M. Arnold, 144
 Borchers, G. L., and Wise, C. M., *Modern Speech*, 54
 Bowra, C. M., *Lyrical Poetry of T. Hardy*, 254
 Bowers, F., *Proof Corrections in 'Lear'*, 124, 271; *Issues and Variant States*, 273
 Joyce, B., *Theophrastan Character* . . . to 1642, 171
 Bradbrook, M. C., *Notes upon Webster*, 156
 Braddy, H., *Chaucer and 'Graunson'*, 70; *Two Chaucer Notes*, 79
 Bronson, B. H., *Personification Reconsidered*, 214
 Brooks, C., *The Well Wrought Urn*, 20
 Broszinski, H., *Christian Reality in 'Macbeth'*, 131
 Brown, I., *Say the Word*, 44
 Bruser, F., *'Comus' and the Rose Song*, 186
 Bullet, G., *George Eliot*, 247
 Barke, K., *Grammar of Motives*, 28
 Burgum, E. B., *The Novel and the World's Dilemma*, 257
 Burns, W. C., *Reade and the Collinses*, 260
 Byrne, M. St. C., *Shakespearean Production in England*, 138

 Calhoun, P. and Heaney, H. J., *Dickensiana in the Rough*, 273
 Camden, C., *Eliz. Chiromaney*, 176
 Campbell, A. W., *Germanic Problems*, 28
 Campbell, L. B., *Bradley Revisited*, 130; *Shakespeare's 'Histories'*, 134
 Carlton, W. J., *N.B. as N. Breton*, 165
 Carnap, R., *Meaning and Necessity*, 28
 Carnee, A. H., *Passionate Shepherd's Song*, 175
 Carr, C. T., *Carlyle's Translation from the German*, 241
 Cassidy, F. G., *Place-Names of Dane County*, 47
 Cawley, A. C., *Trevisa MSS. and Caxton's 'Polycronycon'*, 98
 Chambers, Sir E. K., *M. Arnold*, 245
 Chambers, R. W., *Robert or William Longland*, 92
 Chapman, B., *Why do we say such things?*, 45
 Chapman, J. A., *Evil in 'King Lear'*, 131
 Chapman, R., *'Stings of Fortune' and 'Sea of troubles'*, 124
 Cheek, P. M., *Latin Element in Vaughan*, 179
 Chidamara, C., *Mak and the Tossing in the Blanket*, 103
 Chi'os, E., *Milton's Letter to Gill*, 186
 Christian, M. G., *Family History of T. Middleton*, 157
 Clark, E. B., *MS. of Keats*, 274
 Clarkson, P. S., and Warren, C. T., *Pleading and Practice in Shakespeare's Sonnet XLVI*, 120
 Clifford, J. L. (ed.), *Dr. Campbell's Diary of a Visit to England*, 204
 Clough, W., *Grammar of English Communication*, 40
 Colby, F. L., *Traherne and H. More*, 180
 Cole, G. D. H., *Life of Cobbett*, 238; *S. Butler*, 249
 Collins, A. S. (ed.), *Treasury of Modern Poetry*, 24
 Conklin, F. S., *History of Hamlet Criticism*, 134
 Coogan, M. P., *Moral Play: 'Mankind'*, 104
 Cook, E., *R. Broome's Plays*, 158
 Cooke, A. L., on *Fielding and writers of Heroic Romance*, 217
 Cordasco, F., *G. Moore and E. Dujardin*, 261
 Courtines, P., *Bayle, Hume and Berkeley*, 211
 Cragg, G. G., *Grimshaw of Haworth*, 226
 Craigie, Sir W., *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, Part XI, 52
 Crow, J., *Harveiana*, 117; *Folklore in Eliz. Drama*, 141; *'I walked along a Stream'* (also Davies, P., Boas, F. S., and others), 164
 Curme, G. O., *Principles and Practices of English Grammar*, 40
 Curry, W. C., *Chaos and Old Night*, 191
 Curtis, E. R., *Lady S. Lennox*, 223

 Daghljan, P., *Byron and 'Blackwood's Magazine'*, 231
 Davenport, A., *'Westward Hoe' and 'Virgideimae'*, 143
 Dawson, G. E., *'Variant Second Folio title-pages'*, 125
 Day, M., *Milton and Lydgate*, 196
 Dean, L., F., *Tudor Theories of History*, 174
 Darbishire, H., *Milton and Wordsworth*, 230. (See also under Selincourt, E. de)
 Denomy, A. J., *Heresy of Courtly Love*, 85
 Deroy, L., *La Linguistique en Belgique*, 25
 Dickenmann, E., *La linguistique en Belgique*, 28
 Dickson, A., *'Cant. Tales', I*, 355 ff., 82
 Dieth, E., *New Survey of English Dialects*, 50
 Dobree, B., *English Essayists*, 14
 Dobson, E. J., *R. Robinson and his Practice Transcripts*, 37
 Doren, C. V. (ed.), *Letters and Papers of B. Franklin and R. Jackson*, 200
 Doughty, W. L., *Religious Poetry of the Seventeenth Century*, 180

- Douglas, L., *Severe Animadversion on Bossu*, 213
- Draper, J. W., *Patterns of Tempo*, 132
- Duckett, E. S., *A-S. Saints and Scholars*, 59
- Duffey, B. I., *Man of Law's Tale*, 78
- Duffy, E. M. T., *Jonson's Debt to Renaissance Scholarship*, 153
- Dunkin, P. S., *Foxe's 'Actes and Monuments'*, 272
- Dunn, E. C. and Dodd, M. E., *Trollope Reader*, 259
- Eaves, T. C. D., *E. Burney's Illustrations to 'Evelina'*, 212
- Ehrenpreis, I., *Swift's Father; Swift and J. Temple*, 210
- Ekwall, E., *A Twelfth-Century Lollard*, 34; *East London Place-Names*, 48
- Eliot, T. S., *Milton*, 184
- Elledge, S., *Background in English Criticism*, 224
- Ellis, O. C., *Cleopatra in the Tide of Time*, 127
- Elton, W., *Two Shakesperian Parallels*, 128; *Milton Notes*, 186
- Elwin, M., *The First Romantics*, 239
- Engelhardt, G. J., *Sherry's Treatise of Schemes and Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique*, 111
- Erhardt-Siebold, E. von, *O.E. Riddles*, 63
- Esdaile, K. A., *Aubrey's Notes*, 200
- Evans, B., *Manfred's Remorse*, 231
- Evans, G. B., *'My tables'*, 128
- Evans, W. M., *Lovelace's Concept of Prison Life; Hobson in Comic Song*, 811
- Everett, D., *Chaucer's 'Good Ear'*, 71; and Hurnand, N. D., *Legal Phraseology in 'Pearl'*, 90
- Ewen, C. L., *Early Surnames in Devonshire*, 49
- Fairchild, H. N., *Hartley, Pistorius and Coleridge*, 231; *Tennyson and Shelley*, 243
- Fausset, H. I. A., *Poets and Pundits*, 16
- Feilitzen, O. von, *Old Welsh 'Enniaun'*, &c., 48
- Fellheimer, J., *Hellowes' and Fenton's Translations of Guevara's 'Epistolas'*, 112
- Fink, Z. S., *Political Theory in 'Gulliver's Travels'*, 210
- Fitzgerald, M. M., *First Follow Nature*, 214
- Ford, N. F., *Theories about 'Endymion'*, 235
- Forman, M. B. (ed.), *Letters of Keats*, 231, 234; *Tributes in Verse to Keats*, 237
- Fraser, W., *Field-Names in S. Derbyshire*, 47
- French, R. D., *Chaucer Handbook*, 73
- Freedman, A., and Landor, L. L., *English Literature, 1660-1800*, 228
- Frye, N., *Fearful Symmetry*, 219; *Yeats and Language of Symbolism*, 255
- Fussell, G. E., *Village Life in the Eighteenth Century*, 227
- Galway, M., *Spenser's Rosalind*, 160
- Gant, R. (ed.), *Bloomfield's Selected Poems*, 208
- Gallup, D., *Check-List of Writings of T. S. Eliot*, 269
- Gardner, E. H., *Plutarch's Lycurgus and Paradise Lost*, 1, 549-55, 193
- Gathorne-Hardy, R., *Montaigne among the English*, 183; *J. Taylor's Annotations*, 184
- Gibbert, A. H., *Italian Names in 'E.M.O.H.'*, 139; *Belphoebe and Timias*, 162; *Nevizanus, &c.*, 165; *Traherne as Artist*, 180; *Jonson, Drummond or Gil*, 180; *Composition of 'Paradise Lost'*, 190
- Gibbs, L., *Sheridan*, 218
- Gibson, E. K., *'Alastor'*, 234
- Gifford, H., *Shakespearean Elements in Boris Godunov*, 139
- Gill, E., *Essays*, 18
- Gist, M. A., *Love and War in M.E. Romances*, 88
- Gordon, D. J., *Jonson's 'Haddington Masque'*, 153
- Gordon, G. S., *R. Bridges*, 254
- Gordon, I. A., *Shenstone's Miscellany*, 212
- Gordon, R. K., *Keats and Milton*, 236
- Gradon, P., *Constantine and the Barbarians*, 62
- Grant, D. (ed.), *Scott's Private Letters of the Seventeenth Century*, 237; *Mary Lamb and Penny Ballads*, 240
- Granville-Barker, H., *Preface to 'Coriolanus'*, 132
- Grattan, J. H. G., *Text of 'Piers Plowman'*, 91
- Gray, H. D., *Chamberlain's Men and 'Poetaster'*, 152
- Green, C., *Dr. Faustus*, 145
- Green, R. L., *Andrew Lang*, 259
- Greene, D. H., *'Shadow of the Glen' and 'The Widow of Ephesus'*, 266
- Greenough, C. N., and French, J. M., *Theophrastan Character in English*, 171, 269
- Griffith, R. H., *Two Editions of Swift's 'Contests'*, 210
- Griffiths, J. G., *Shelley and Diodorus*, 233
- Grigson, G., *Before the Romantics*, 224
- Guttman, S., *Foreign Sources of Shakespeare's Works*, 125, 270
- Hagstrum, J. H., *Dr. Johnson's Fear of Death*, 211

- Halsband, R. (ed.), *The Nonrens of Common Sense*, 201
- Hamer, D., *Spenser's Grain and Shilling*, 159
- Hamilton, M. P., *Bernard the Monk*, 83
- Hamilton, R., *Dickens in his Characters*, 241
- Hamlyn, H. M., *Eighteenth-Century Circulating Libraries*, 271
- Hammer, J., *Geoffrey of Monmouth's Use of the Bible*, 86
- Hands, M. G., *Cathedral Libraries Catalogue*, 271
- Harbage, A., *As They Liked It*, 129
- Harding, D. W., *Rhythmical Intention in Wyatt's Poetry*, 113
- Harlan, A. B., *Owen Meredith*, 248
- Harrison, G. B., (ed.), *Troilus and Cressida: The Winter's Tale*, 122
- Hasker, R., *Spenser's 'Vaine Delight'*, 162
- Hatchman, G. H., *Keats and Others*, 236
- Hathaway, B., *Lucretian 'Return upon Ourselves' in Eighteenth-Century Theories of Tragedy*, 213
- Hawthorne, M., and Dana, H. W. L., *Origins of 'Evangeline'*, 273
- Hayward, J. (ed.), *English Poetry: first and early editions*, 270
- Hegeman, D. V., *Boswell's Interviews with Gottsched and Gellert*, 212
- Heltzel, V. B., *Fair Rosamond*, 9; (ed.), *R. Ashley's Of Honour*, 169
- Herrick, A., *'The Carver to his Mistress'*, 181
- Hickey, R. L., *Donne and Virginia*, 178
- Higgins, M., *Development of the 'Senecal Man'*, 140
- Hillway, T., *Melville's Art*, 262
- Hinckley, L., *The Brontës*, 242
- Hinman, C., *Mechanized Collation*, 272
- Hockett, C. F., *Problems of Morphemic Analysis*, 27
- Holmes, U. T., Jr., *Chrétien's 'Conte del Graal'*, 87
- Hotson, L., *'beds' versus 'bets' (see also Wilson, J. D.)*, 123; *'Castiliano volgo' and 'Prenzie' (also Stopes, M. C.)*, 124
- Hough, G., *Natural Theology in 'In Memoriam'*, 244
- Houk, R. A., *'The Shrew' and 'Orlando'; 'A Shrew' and 'Doctor Faustus'*, 123
- House, H., *Thackeray and Lucas; Thackeray's Letters (also Ray, G., Kerr, P., Hawkes, A. J., Low, D. M., Chapman, R. W.)*, 243
- Howarth, R. G., *Notes on Chapman*, 148, 165; *Two Notes on Beddoes*, 240; *Hopkins and Sir T. More; Hopkins's Earlier Poems*, 265
- Howe, P. P., *Life of W. Hazlitt*, 238
- Hudson, H. H., *Epigram in English Renaissance*, 115
- Hughes, A. M., *Nascent Mind of Shelley*, 232
- Hughes, M. Y., *Milton: Prose Selections*, 187
- Hulbert, J. R., *Chaucer's Romance Vocabulary*, 35; *Origin of Grammarians' Rules for Shall and Will*, 38
- Humphreys, A. R., *The Eternal Fitness of Things*, 214
- Hunt, R. W., *Med. Latin Verse in MS. Cotton Titus, D. xxiv*, 86
- Huppé, F. F., *Authorship of A and B Texts of 'Piers Plowman'*, 93; *Allegory of Love in Lyly's Court Comedies*, 141
- Hutchinson, F. E., *Henry Vaughan*, 179; *Milton and the English Mind*, 184
- Irving, J., *Royal Navalese*, 53
- Jackson, W. A., *First English Translation of Horace*, 274
- Jacob, H. H., *Choice of a Common Language: Planned Auxiliary Language*, 28
- James, Sir W. (ed.), *Order of Release*, 245
- Jarvie, J. N., *Lallans*, 52
- Jenkins, E., *H. Fielding*, 216
- Joffe, J. A., *Jazz and Racket*, 46
- Johnson, S., *Donne and Virginia Company*, 178
- Jones, C. W., *Saints' Lives . . . in Early England*, 60; *Milton's 'Brief Epic'*, 192
- Jones, F. L., *Vision Theme in 'Alastor', &c.*, 233; *Shelley's 'On Life'*, 233
- Jones, J. T., *What's that 'Ducdame'?*, 123
- Jones, J. (ed.), *Thoughts on Jestings*, 203
- Joseph, B., *Theefe of Thessaly (also Barton, H. K., and Seaton, E.)*, 143
- Joseph, M., *Shakespeare's Use of Arts of Language*, 127
- Judson, A. C., *Spenser and the Munster Officials*, 160
- Kahin, H. A., *J. Anger and J. Lyly*, 167
- Kain, R. M., *Fabulous Voyager*, 256
- Kallich, M., *Akenside's 'Pleasures of Imagination'*, 213
- Kapstein, L. J., *Shelley's 'Mont Blanc'*, 234
- Kashkin, I. A., and Runner, O. B., *Cant. Tales in Russian Translation*, 74
- Keen, A., *MS. Annotations in Hall's Chronicles (also Rossiter, A. P.)*, 129
- Keister, D. A., *Donne and Herbert of Cherbury; Birth Date of Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, 178; *La Belle Dame Sans Merci (also Mabbott, T. O. and Breyer, B.)*, 235
- Kelley, M., *Milton's Commonplace Book, Folio 20*, 193

- Kennedy, W. S., *English Heritage of Coleridge*, 221
- Kenyon, K. M., *B. Franklin at Twyford*, 226
- Kermode, J. F., '*Fatal Dowry*' in the *Eighteenth Century*, 157
- Ketton-Cremer, R. W., *A Letter to Mrs. West*, 211
- Kirby, T. A., *The Triple Tun*, 181; *Irving and Moore*, 240
- Kjerrström, B., *Language of the London Chronicles*, 36
- Kluger, S., '*Pride and Prejudice*' in *Eighteenth-Century Mode*, 238
- Knickerbocker, K. L., *Browning and Swinburne*, 246
- Knight, G. W., *The Crown of Life*, 133
- Kocher, P. H., *Physician as Atheist in Eliz. England*, 111, 175; *Pamphlet Background for 'Massacre at Paris'*, 147
- Kökeritz, H., *Wyf of Bathe and al hire Secte*, 36, 75; *Five Shakespearean Notes*, 124
- Krey, A. C., *Padua in English Renaissance*, 108
- Krzyzanowski, J., *Remarks on Eliz. Dramatists*, 141
- Kuhl, E. P., *Why was Chaucer sent to Milan?*; *Chaucer the Patriot*, 84
- Kuhn, S. M., *Synonyms in O.E. Bede*, 31
- Lang, D. M., *Sterne and A. Radishchev*, 218
- Laver, J., *Hatchards of Piccadilly*, 277
- Law, A. (ed.), *Fergusson's Scots Poems*, 206
- Lawrence, W. W., *Ophelia's Heritage*, 128
- Lea, K. N., and Smith, D. N., (eds.), *Mother Bombie*, 142
- Leavitt, R. K., *Noah's Ark*, 39
- Le Comte, E. S., *Milton's Attitude towards Women*, 188
- Leech, C., *Implications of Tragedy*, 19; *F. Jaques*, 158
- Legouis, P., *Marvell and Massinger*, 181
- Lehmann, J., *Shelley in Italy*, 232
- Lemonnier, L., *Poe et les Conteurs Français*, 258
- Lennap, W. van, *Earliest Known English playbill*, 274
- Leroy, A. (trs. and ed.), *Enquête son les Principes de la Morale*, 203
- Letts, M., *Mandeville Problems*, 97
- Lever, J. W., '*Par. Lost*' and the *A.-S. Tradition*, 61, 190
- Lever, Sir T., *House of Pitt*, 226
- Lewis, C. D., *The Poet's Image*, 14
- Lewis, C. S. (ed.), *Essays presented to C. Williams*, 22
- Lewis, M. M., *Language in Society*, 28
- Lewis, W. G., *H. Walpole's Library*, 218, 271
- Lidell, R., *Essay on the Novel*, 11
- Liebert, H. W., *Bibliography of S. Johnson*, 273
- Liljegren, S. B., *Revolt against Romanticism in Works of S. L. Clemens*, 249
- Lind, S., *Poe and Mesmerism*, 262
- Lindsay, J., *Doone and Concept of Space*, 228
- Little, A., *Nature of Art*, 18
- Livingston, C. H., *Scatter, Shatter*, 46; '*searce, search*', &c., 51
- Lodge, O., *A Jonson Puzzle*, 155
- Loomis, R. S., *From Segontium to Sinadon*, 86
- Luciani, V., *Bacon and Guicciardini*, 173
- Lumiansky, R. M., *O.E. 'onbyrð'*, 31; *Chaucer and . . . Unfaithful Men*, 83
- Lumpkin, B. G., *Fate in 'Par. Lost'*, 191
- Lundblad, J., *Hawthorne and European Literary Tradition*, 240
- MacCarthy, R. G., *Later Women Novelists*, 222
- McClean, R. J., *Germanic Nursery Words*, 45
- Macdonald, H. (ed.), *Poems by R. Leigh*, 194; and Smith, D. N. (eds.), *Arden of Feversham*, 142
- McGalliard, J. C., *Merchant's Tale*, 80, 81
- McIlwraith, A. K., '*Stephanus Gossop*', 113
- McKechnie, S., *Lamb and the India House*, 239
- MacKenzie, P., *Milton's Visual Imagination*, 185
- Mackerness, G. D., *T. Nashe and 'Style'*, 167
- McKisack, M., *S. Daniel as Historian*, 170
- MacLane, P. E., *Diggon Davie Again; Morrell and Thomalin*, 161
- McLennen, J., *Allegory in English Renaissance*, 175
- McMahon, A. P., *Sidney's Letter to the Camerarii*, 167
- McNeir, W. F., *Ateukin in Greene's 'James IV'*, 143
- McNulty, J. B., *Milton and Wordsworth's Early Sonnets*, 230
- Mallery, R. D., *Our American Language*, 53
- Malone, K., *O.E. Gar 'Storm'*, 31; *Name of the Wends*, 48
- Marckwardt, A. H., *Nowell's 'Vocabularium Saxonicum' and Sommer's 'Dictionarium'*, 38; *Unnoted Source of English Dialect Vocabulary*, 51; *Characterization in 'Knight's Tale'*, 76
- Margoliouth, H. M., *Marriage of Blake's Parents*, 220
- Marsh, Sir E., '*Palm Sunday*' and '*Storm*', 180

- Martin, R. W., *W. N. P. Barbelion*, 267
 Martin-Clarke, D. E., *Culture in Early A.-S. England*, 57
 Martz, L. L., *J. Donne in Meditation*, 177
 Masfield, J., *Thanks Before Going*, 247
 Mason, F. G., 'Troilus', II, 1298, 82
 Massingham, H. J., *Roots of Shakespeare*, 124
 Matthews, C. C., *Dictionary of Abbreviations*, 44
 Matthiessen, F. O., *Achievement of T. S. Eliot*, 255; and Murdock, K. B. (eds.), *Notebooks of H. James*, 251
 Maugeri, A., *Otello e Capitano Moro*, 129
 Maxwell, J. C., *2 Henry IV*, II, iv, 91 ff., 123; Shakespeare and Keats's Letter to Woodhouse, 138, 236; *Emendation in Greene*, 143; 'Crisis', 146; *Echo of Overburian Character*, 150; *Notes on Keats's Letters*, 236
 Mead, D. S., 'Ode to the West Wind', 233
 Menner, R. J., *Vocabulary of O.E. Poems on Judgment Day*, 32
 Mepham, W. A., *Municipal Drama at Maldon*, 117; *Chelmsford Plays*, 118
 Meritt, H. D., *Studies in O.E. Vocabulary*, 31
 Meoney, H., *The Early English Lyric*, 94
 Mertins, L. and E., *R. Frost: Bibliography*, 269
 Meyerstein, E. W., 'A Chatterton MS.', 211
 Michel, L., 'Genesis A' and the 'Praelatio', 61
 Millett, F. B., *American Literature*, 1940-5, 264
 Mincoff, M., *Baroque Literature in England*, 149
 Mises, R. von, *Rilke in English: Bibliography*, 270
 Mitchell, A. G., *C-text of 'Piers Plowman'*, 92
 Mitchell, C. M., *The Shakespeare Circle*, 126
 Moloney, M. F., *J. Donne and the Jesuits*, 127
 Montgomerie, W. (ed.), *New Judgments: R. Burns*, 220
 Moore, A. K., 'Eve Grege' of Chaucer's *Prioress*, 35; *Carols of Holly and Ivy*, 95
 Moore, D. G., *Bacon's Monument (also Eagle, R. L.)*, 176
 Moore, J. R., *S. Holmes Borrows a Plot*, 266
 Moorhouse, A. C., *Writing and the Alphabet*, 27
 Morgan, F. C., *Deed of Gift and J. Webster*, 155
 Mossé, F., *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue Anglaise*, 28
 Mossner, E. C., *Hume's Essay on Chivalry, &c.*, 202
 Mounts, C. E., 'Sooth' in *de la Mare*, etc., 237
 Muir, K., *Unpublished Poems in the Devonshire MS.*, 114; *Shakespeare and Keats*, 236
 Mullett, C. F., 'Paradoxes', 196
 Munro, J., *Some Matters Shakespearean*, 124
 Nash, R., *Comic Intent in 'Volpone'*, 152
 Nearing, R., *Three-Way Pun in 'Richard II'*, 123
 Neville, E. H., *II Tamburlaine*, II, iv, 51-4, 146
 Nicolson, M. H., *Newton Demands the Muse*, 224
 Norman, C., *The Muses' Darling*, 144
 Norton, M., *Plays of Joanna Baillie*, 238
 Nosworthy, J. M., 'Macbeth' at the *Globe*, 124
 Oliver, H. J., *The Compleat Angler*, 184
 Oliver, L. M., *John Foxe and 'New Customs'*, 118; *Sir J. Oldcastle*, 129
 Osgood, C. G., and Lotspeich, H. G. (eds.), *Spenser's Minor Poems*, Vol. 2, 160
 Page, W. I., *Defoe's 'Review'*, 209
 Park, M. C., *Priestley and Pantisocracy*, 221
 Parker, W. M., *C. Ollier to W. Blackwood*, 239
 Parker, W. R., *Fletcher's Milton*, 272
 Parks, G. P., *Evelyn and Art of Travel*, 195
 Parr, J., *Horoscope of Mycetes*, 145
 Partridge, E., *Usage and Abusage*, 43; *Thanks to the War*, 53
 Patchell, M., 'Palmerin' *Romances in Eliz. Prose Fiction*, 168
 Patchen, K. (ed.), *Blake's 'Job'*, 208
 Paul, F., *The Daughter of Sir T. More*, 169
 Payne, E. A., *Tom Paine: Preacher*, 213
 Peat, R. C., *Presenting Shakespeare*, 138
 Peery, W., 'Eastward Ho!' and 'A Woman in a Weathercock'; *Note on a Commonplace*, 156; *Amends for Ladies: Law-Tricks*, 272; 'Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green', 273
 Phelps, G. H. (ed.), *Living Writers*, 21
 Pence, R. W., *Grammar of Present-Day English*, 40
 Penzl, H., *Phonemic Split of Ger. k in O.E.*, 32
 Pettet, E. C., *Timon of Athens*, 131; *Sidney and Romantic Love*, 166
 Pike, K. L., *Phonemics; Grammatical Prerequisites to Phonemic Analysis*, 27

- Pinto, V. de S., 'The Street Ballad and English Poet', 12
- Poirier, M., *Sidney's Influence upon 'M. N. D.'*, 126
- Poldauf, I., *Negation in Colloquial English*, 43
- Pommer, H. F., and Sale, W. M., *Use of Language*, 41
- Pons, E. (trs.), *Sir Gauvain et le Chevalier Vert*, 89
- Pope, E. M., 'Par. Regained', 191
- Potter, S., O.E. 'Pastoral Care', 64
- Pratt, R. A., *Chaucer's Clau.ian*, 67; *Chaucer's Use of the 'Teseida'*, 68
- Pratt, W. W. (ed.), *Lord Byron and his Circle*, 270
- Price, H. T., *Foreign Influences on M.E.*, 33, 105
- Prior, M. E., *The Language of Tragedy*, 9, 127; *Character . . . in 'Othello'*, 130
- Procter, J. W., *Betta na Like*, 243
- Purvis, J. J., *Stewart's Abbregeement of Roland Furious*, 172
- Radice, S., *H. Walpole*, 219
- Rajan, B., 'Par. Lost' and the Seventeenth Century Reader, 189
- Ralph, P. L., *Sir H. Mildmay*, 182
- Randall, H. W., *Sermons on Charles I*, 195
- Rathe, K., *Un detto shakespeariana*, 129
- Rashbrook, R. F., *The Living Hand*, 136; *Spenser and 'Ode to Psyche'*, 237
- Read, H., *The Grass Roots of Art*, 16; *the Innocent Eye*, 23
- Reed, A. W., *J. Webster and Erasmus*, 155
- Reed, T. D., *Rise of Wessex*, 56
- Regenos, G. W., *Horace and Herrick*, 181
- Renwick, W. L., *The Faerie Queen*, 161
- Révész, G., *Ursprung und Vorgeschichte der Sprache*, 27
- Reyher, P., *Essai sur les idées dans . . . Shakespeare*, 135
- Ribner, I., *Lear's Madness*, 131
- Rice, D. T., *Byzantine Element in Late Saxon Art*, 58
- Richards, I. A., *Responsibilities in the Teaching of English*, 12
- Riewald, J. G., *Sir T. Browne's Supposed Visit to Continent*, 182
- Rivlin, J. B., *H. Martineau: Bibliography*, 269
- Roberts, D. R., *Death Wish of Donne*, 177; *Music of Milton*, 185
- Robertson, D. W., Jr., *Cultural Tradition of 'Handlyng Synne'*, 91
- Robson, W. S., *Hawick Place-Names*, 46
- Rollins, H. E. (ed.), *Shakespeare: The Sonnets*, 120
- Rosatti, A., *Le Mot*, 27
- Ross, A. M., *G. Herbert and Humanist Tradition*, 178
- Rowe, K. T., *Romantic Love . . . in 'Arcadia'*, 106
- Ruggles, E., *G. M. Hopkins*, 150
- Rushbrook, R. F., *The Living Hand*, 138
- Sampson, G., *Seven Essays*, 15
- Samuel, I., *Plato and Milton*, 183
- Samuel, Lord, *A Book of Quotations*, 25
- Santayana, G., *Persons and Places*, 23
- Saurat, D., *Gods of the People*, 17; (ed.) *Golden Asse of Lucius Apuleius*, 111; (ed.), *Blake's selected Poems*, 207
- Savage, J. E., 'Philaster' and 'Arcadia', 150
- Schaar, C., 'Andreas' and 'Elene', 63
- Schweitzer, J. W., *Dryden and 'Almahide'*, 198
- Scott, F. R., *Teg—the Stage Irishman*, 157, 197
- Scott, J. E., *Sir H. Rider Haggard: Bibliography*, 269
- Scudder, H. H., 'Beauty is Truth' (also Stubbs, P. and Pyle, O.), 236
- Seaton, E., 'Mobbed Queen' (also Scott, L., Scott, W., Crutwell, R. W.), 124
- Segar, M. G. (ed.), *Essays from Eighteenth-Century Periodicals*, 202
- Selincourt, E. de, *Wordsworthian and other Studies*, 229; and Darbishire, H. (eds.), *Poetical Works of Wordsworth*, Vol. IV, 229
- Sells, A. L., *Boccaccio, Chaucer and Stendhal*, 77
- Shannon, E. F., *Proofs of 'Gareth and Lynette'*, 274
- Shannon, G. P., *Grimald's List of the Muses*, 114
- Shapiro, K., *Essay on Rime*, 11; *English Prosody and Modern Poetry*, 264
- Shaver, C. L., *Hannah More's First Play*, 221; *Wordsworth and Newton*, 230
- Shaw, P., *Dekker in Jacobean Prison Literature*, 170
- Sheldon, E. K., *Walker's Influence on Pronunciation of English*, 38
- Sherman, G. W., *Hardy and the Reform League*, 260
- Sherwood, M., *Magic and Mechanics in Med. Fiction*, 106
- Simpson, P., 'skiff', (also Rattray, R. L.), 150; and Simpson, E., *Ben Jonson*, Vol. VIII, 164
- Singer, S., *Dogma und Dichtung des Mittelalters*, 86
- Sinsheimer, H., *Shylock*, 127
- Sitwell, Sir O., *Novels of G. Meredith*, 252
- Smith, G., *Influence of Sir J. Hayward and J. Sylvester on 'Cypresse Grove'*, 172, 182

- Smith, J. N., *Whitman and Manifest Destiny*, 263
 Snuggs, H. L., *The Cornish Humours*, 151
 Southworth, J. G., *Chaucer's Final-e in Rhyme*, 72; *Poetry of T. Hardy*, 253
 Spargo, J. W., '*Questio quid juris*', 75
 Spitzer, L., *Ragamuffin, Ragman, etc.*, 46
 Sprague, A. C., *Shakespeare and W. Poel*, 137
 Stahl, E. L., *Shakespeare und das deutsche Theater*, 139
 Staunes, D. L., *Spenser and 'Ode to Psyche'*, 237
 Stapelkamp, C., *Oude Engelse Plantnamen*, 65
 Starr, H. W., *Trumbull and Gray's 'Bard' and 'Progress of Poetry'*, 211
 Stevenson, L., *Showman of Vanity Fair*, 243
 Stewart, B. T., *Spenser and P. Fletcher*, 165
 Stillwell, G., *Chaucer's Shipman and 'Shipman's Gild'*, 75
 Stoll, E. E., *Symbolism in Shakespeare*, 130
 Storms, G., *A.-S. Prescription from the 'Lacnunga'*, 65
 Strachan, L. R. M., *Zanger the Son of Solyman*, 172
 Strathmann, E. A., *J. Dee as Raleigh's 'Conjuror'*, 175
 Stroud, T. A., *Jonson and Father T. Wright*, 150, 172
 Stroup, T. B., *Gay's Mohocks and Milton*, 210
 Strout, A. L., *Coker and Tennyson Again*, 243
 Swadesh, M., *Analysis of English Syllabics*, 42
 Swaen, A. E., *A.-S. Riddles*, 64
 Symes, G., *Muse in India*, 265
 Talbert, E. W., *Jonson's 'Masque of Angurs'*, 154
 Tarr, M. M., *Catholicism in Gothic Fiction*, 223
 Taylor, G. C., *Essays of Shakespeare*, 135
 Taylor, R. H., *MS. of 'The American Senator'*, 273
 Terahune, A. M., *E. Fitzgerald*, 247
 Thaler, A., *Shakespeare and Sir P. Sidney*, 126
 Thiess, F., *Shakespeare und . . . Unsterblichkeit*, 136
 Thomas, M. G. L. (ed.), *Travellers' Verse*, 24
 Thorp, W. (ed.), *Moby Dick*, 259
 Thorpe, C. D., *Keats and Hazlitt*, 237
 Thorpe, J., '*The Wish*' and *Rochester*, 199; *Sedley and Beau Fielding*, (also Pinto, V. de S.), 199
 Tieghem, P. V., *Le Prérromantisme*, 139
 Todd, R. (ed.), *Blake's Songs of Innocence and Experience*, 207; *Smart's Song to David*, 209
 Tonster, E. B., *Thackeray and Fielding*, 217
 Townsend, F. L., *Jonson's Censure of Rutter's 'Shepherds Holy Day'*, 154
 Trueblood, E. (ed.), *Dr. Johnson's Prayers*, 205
 Turnbull, G. H., *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*, 183
 Tuves, P., *Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery*, 162
 Tweedsmuir, Susan, Lady, *John Buchan*, 24
 Tyler, H., *Hunt and Shelley*, 234
 Vachek, J., *Negative Universals in English and Czech*, 43
 Vallese, T. (trs.), *Novella del Chierico di Oxford*, 80
 Vechtman-Veth, A. C. E., *Syntax of Living English*, 41
 Venable, E., *The Hamlet Problem*, 131
 Verkoren, L., *Iets over vorm en . . . 'Hamlet'*, 132
 Vincent, H. P., *Attempted Piracy of 'The Duenna'*, 218
 Visser, F. T., '*I had heard her cried*', 36
 Vocht, H. de, '*Everyman*', 104
 Wainwright, F. D., *Scandinavian Settlements in Derbyshire*, 88
 Waldock, A. J. A., '*Par. Lost*' and its Critics, 188
 Wallis, L. B., *Fletcher, Beaumont and Company*, 148
 Walpole, R. H., *Sir Bertram the baner; pseudo-Turpin*, 88
 Walters, R. H., *Vaughan and the Alchemists*, 179
 Wardle, R. M., *Mary Wollstonecraft*, 221
 Ware, W. (ed.), *Gems of Expression*, 25
 Wasserman, E. R., *Pleasures of Tragedy*, 214; *Sympathetic Imagination in Eighteenth-Century Theories of Acting*, 224
 Watson, J. W., *Non-Initial k in North of England*, 33
 Watson, M. R., *Lord Chesterfield and 'Decorum'*, 218
 Watson, W., *The Fifth Commandment*, 218
 Way, R. R., *S. Rogers and Dramatic Blank Verse*, 241
 Webb, H. J., *Chaucer's Theseus*, 78
 Weed, K. K., and Bond, R. P., *British Newspapers . . . to 1800*, 275
 Weekley, E., *Words, Ancient and Modern*, 45
 Weeks, D., *Samuel Rogers*, 240
 Wegelin, C., *Europe in Hawthorne's Fiction*, 240

- Weide, E., *Fielding's Komodien*, 228
- Weightman, J. G., *On Language and Writing*, 28
- Weld, J. S., *Bettie's Titana and Theseus*, 172
- Wells, R. S., *Immediate Constituents; De Saussure's System of Linguistics*, 27
- Wenger, J., *Character Types of Scott, Dickens and Balzac*, 241
- Wesserman, P. D., *Horace's Influence on 'Ant. and Cleopatra'*, 128
- West, E. J., *Dramatist at the Crossroads*, 131
- Westbrook, P. D., *Horace's Influence on 'Antony and Cleopatra'*, 128
- Whalley, G., *Romantic Chasms*, 230; *Mariner and Albatross*, 231
- Whitbread, L., *Text-Notes on 'Deor'*, 61
- White, H. O., *Art of Swift*, 215
- White, N. I., *Shelley*, 232
- Whitfield, A. S., *H. Coleridge's 'On Mary Fleming'*, 231
- Whiting, B. J., *'By My Fader Soule'*, 79
- Whiting, G. W., *Tormenting Tophet*, 191
- Whyte, A. G., *Anthology of Errors*, 44
- Wilkins, L. W., *Shylock's Pound of Flesh and Laban's Sheep*, 128
- Wilkinson, C. H. (ed.), *Saltonstall's Picturae Loquentes*, 181
- Willcocks, M. P., *Life of Fielding*, 215
- Willey, B. (ed.), *Essays and Studies*, Vol. XXXII, 12
- Williams, I. A., *R. Brooke at Cambridge*, 265
- Williams, J. T., *Words into Images in 'Hous of Fame'*, 84
- Williamson, F., *The Tribal Hidage*, 65
- Wilson, F. P., *Shakespeare To-day*, 137; *Supplement to Toynbee's 'Dante in English, 1350-1360' (ed.), Pantagruel's Prognostication*, 182
- Wilson, J. D. (ed.), *King Henry V, Macbeth*, 121; and Hunt, W. H., *Authorship of S. Forman's 'Booke of Plaies'*, 122, 140
- Wilson, J. H., *Etherege and Julia*, 198
- Wilson, R. H., *Caxton's Chess Book*, 109
- Wimsatt, W. K., *'Concrete Universal' in Literature*, 20; *Johnson and Electricity*, 212
- Woodman, R. E., *Dickens and his Publisher*, 241
- Woolf, H. B., *Beowulf and Grendel*, 61; *Chaucer 'Redivivus'*, 84
- Wright, A., *Spence's Anecdotes*, 210
- Wright, B. A., *'Par. Lost'*, I. 230, 191
- Wright, H., *Wordsworth's Choice of French Writers*, 230
- Wright, N., *Source for Melville's 'Clarel'*, 263
- Yates, F., *Elizabeth as Astraea*, 174
- Yoder, A., *Animal Analogy in Shakespeare's Character Portrayal*, 136
- Young, G. M., *Shakespeare and the Termers*, 128; *Chapman's Humorous Day's Mirth*, 138
- Zandvoort, R. W., *A Handbook of English Grammar*, 40; *King Alfred's Boethius*, 65
- Zavala, S., *American Utopia of Sixteenth Century*, 110
- Zimansky, C. A., *Chaucer and School of Provence*, 74

II

SELECTED SUBJECTS

- Adlington's 'Apuleius', 111
 American English, 53-5
 American Literature, 263-4
 American Place-Names, 47-8
 Anglo-Saxon Art, Byzantine elements, 58
 Anglo-Saxon England, Culture in, 57
 Anglo-Saxon Riddles, 63-4
 Anglo-Saxon Saints, 59-60
 Anglo-Saxon Tradition and *Par. Lost*, 61, 190
 Anthologies, 24-6, 46
Arden of Feversham, 142
 Ariosto in England, 172-3
 Arnold, Matthew, 244-5
 Art, Rules of, 16; Nature of, 18
 Ashley, Robert, 169
 Aubrey, John, 200
 Austen, Jane, 238

 Bacon, Francis, 172-3, 176
 Baillie, Joanna, 238
 Barbellion, W. N. P., 267
 Beaumont, James and Fletcher, John, 148-50
 Beddoes, T. L., 240
Beowulf, 61
 Berkeley, George, 211
 Bibliographies, 228, 269-70, 275
 Blake, William, 207-9, 219-20
 Bodleian Library accessions, 276
 Bodley, Sir T., 276
 Boswell, James, 212
 Bridges, Robert, 254
 British Newspapers and Periodicals, 275
 Brome, Richard, 158
 Brontë family, 242-3
 Brooke, Rupert, 266
 Browning, Robert and Elizabeth, 246
 Buchan, John, 24
 Bunyan collection, 276
 Burke, Edmund, 212
 Burns, Robert, 220-1, 277
 Butler, Samuel, 249
 Byron, Lord, 231, 270

 Campbell, Dr., 203-5
 Carlyle, Thomas, 241
 Carroll, Lewis, 27
 Caxton, W., 98, 109
 Chapman, George, 148, 165, 176
 Charles I, Sermons on, 195
 Chatterton, Thomas, 211
 Chaucer, Geoffrey, Romance Vocabulary, 35; debts to Claudian, Boccaccio, Graunson, 67-71; *Canterbury Tales*, 74-82; *Troilus and Criseyde*, 82; *Legend of Good Women*, 83; *House of Fame*, 83; Mission to Milan and patriotism, 84
 Clemens, S. L. (Mark Twain), 249
 Coleridge, S. T., 217, 230-1, 270
 Coverdale, Miles, 109
 Crashaw, Richard, 178
 Cromwell, Oliver, 183
 Cynewulf, 62-3

 Daniel, Samuel, 170
Dante in English Literature, 173
 Dekker, Thomas, 143, 170
 Defoe, Daniel, 209
 Dictionaries, 38-9, 44, 52
 Dickens, Charles, 241-2, 272
 Donne, John, 177-8
 Drummond, William, 165, 172, 180, 192
 Dryden, John, 198

 Eliot, George, 246
 Eliot, T. S., 255-6
 Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery, 162-4
 Elizabeth as Astraea, 174
 Emerson, R. W., 261
 England, Character of, 7, 29
England's Parnassus, 164-5
 English Country Parson, 8
 English Dialects, 50-1
 English Essayists, 14
 English Institute Annual, 13
 English Language, History of, 28-30
 English Place-Names, 46-7
 English Playbill, earliest known, 274
 English Poetry and Street Ballad, 12
 English Poetry, Catalogue of first and early editions, 270
 English Poetry, primitivism in, 214
 English Prosody and modern poetry, 264
 English Renaissance Criticism, 107-9, 168
 English Rhetoric, 111
 English, scientific, 30
 Epigram in English Renaissance, 115
Essays and Studies, Vol. XXXII, 12
Essays by Divers Hands, Vol. XXIV, 13
Essays from Eighteenth-Century Periodicals, 202
 Etherege, Sir G., 198
 Evelyn, John, 195

 Fairfax, Edward, 165-6

- Fair Rosalind, 9
 Ferguson, Robert, 206-7
 Field, Nathan, 156-7, 272
 Fielding, Henry, 215-7, 228
 Fifteenth-Century Production of MSS., 101
 Fifteenth-Century Verse and Prose, 102-3
 Fitzgerald, Edward, 247
 Folklore in Eliz. Drama, 141
 Forman, Simon, *Booke of Plaies*, 122, 140
 Foxe, John, and *New Custom*, 118
 Franklin, Benjamin, 202, 226

 Geoffrey of Monmouth, 86
 Goldsmith, Oliver, 212
 Gosson, Stephen, 113
 Gothic Fiction, Catholicism in, 123
 Grail, Quest of, 87
 Grammars, 39-41
 Gray, Thomas, 211
 Greene, Robert, 143
 Grimald, Nicholas, 114
 Grimshaw of Haworth, 226
 Guevara's 'Epistolas', 112

 Hardy, Thomas, 253-4, 260
Handlyng Synne, 91
 Hartlib, Samuel, 182-3
 Harvard, Houghton Library, 276
 Harvard Library Bulletin, 274
 Harvey, Gabriel, 117
 Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 241
 Hazlitt, William, 237, 239
 Herbert, George, 178
 Herrick, Robert, 181
 Hopkins, G. M., 250, 268
 Howard, Henry, Earl of Surrey, 114
 Hughes, Thomas, and Lucan, 119
 Hume, David, 202-3, 211

 Jaques, Francis, 158
 James, Henry, 251
 Johnson, Samuel, 211, 272, 277, 305
 Jonson, Ben, 150-5, 164, 172, 180, 277
 Joyce, James, 256-7

 Keats, John, 231, 234-7, 276

 Lamb, Charles and Mary, 239-40
 Leigh, Richard, 194
 Lennox, Lady S., 223
 Lewis, Alan, 265
 Linguistics, General, 27-8
 Lang, Andrew, 259
 Libraries, Eighteenth-Century Circulating, 271; Cathedral, 271
 London Chronicles, language of, 36
 Longfellow, H. W., 273
 Lovelace, Richard, 181
 Luttrell Society, 181-2
 Lyly, John, 139-40, 167

 Mackail, J. W., 267
 Maldon and Chelmsford, 16th Century Plays, 117-8
 Malory, Sir T., 99-100
 Mandeville, 97-8
 Markham, Gervase, 164
 Marlowe, Christopher, 144-5, 164
 Maxwell, Andrew, 183
 Massinger, Philip, 157, 181
 Mechanical collation, 272
 Medieval Fiction, Mechanics in, 106
 Medieval Laughter, 106
 Melville, Herman, 259, 261-2
 Meredith, George, 252
 Middle English, foreign influence in, 33, 105
 Middle English Romances, 87-90
 Middle English Lyrical and Occasional Verse, 94-6
 Middleton, Thomas, 159
 Miracle and Morality Plays, 103-5
 Mildmay, Sir H., 182
 Milton, John, General estimates of, 184-8; Influence of Plato, 185; *Comus* and shorter poems, 186-7; prose words, 187-8; *Par. Lost*, 188-91; *Par. Regained*, 191-2; *Miltoniana*, 192-3, 230, 272, 277
 Montagu, Lady M. W., 201
 More, Sir Thomas, 110
 Morris, William, 247
 Moore, George, 261

 Nashe, Thomas, 167
 Newton, Isaac, 224-5
 Northumbria, Origins of, 57
 Novel, the, 11; and World's Dilemma, 257
 Novel Library, the, 201
 Novelists, Women, 1744-1818, 222

 Old English Prose, 64-6
 Old English Vocabulary, 31-2
 Owen Meredith, 248

 Paine, Tom, 213
 Palmerin Romances, 168
 Personal Names, 48-50
 Phonology, 41-2
 Physicians as Atheist, 111, 175
Piers Plowman, 91-4
 Pitt, House of, 220
 Priestley, Joseph, 221
 Poe, E. A., 258, 262
 Poetic Image, the, 15
 Poetry, Structure of, 20; Treasury of Modern, 24
 Poets and Pundits, 16

 Quaritch, Bernard, 277
 Quotations, Book of, 25

 Ralegh, Sir W., 175

- Reade, Charles, 260
 Rhyme (Rime), 11
 Rochester, Earl of, 199
 Rogers, Samuel, 240-1
 Rossetti, D. G., 247
 Ruskin, John, 246

 Scott, Sir W., 237-8, 241
 Sedley, Sir C., 199-200
 Shakespeare, William, various edition
 of 'Sonnets', 120; editions of single
 plays, 121-2; textual and verbal
 studies, 123-4; proof-correction, 124,
 271; sources and background of plays,
 125-9; studies of the tragedies, 129-
 132; symbolic and historical interpre-
 tation, 132-4; ideas in the plays, 135;
 animal and other imagery, 136-7; pro-
 duction of the plays in England and on
 the Continent, 137-9; folios, 275
 Sheridan, R. B., 218, 274
 Sidney, Sir Philip, 166-7
 Shelley, P. B., 232-4, 277
 Smart, Christopher, 205, 209
 Smollett, Tobias, 217
 Spenser, Edward, 159-62, 165, 237
 Steele, Sir R., 210
 Swift, Jonathan, 210, 215
 Stein, Gertrude, 274
 Sterne, Laurence, 217-8
 Synge, J. M., 266

 Taylor, Jeremy, 183-4
 Teg—the Stage Irishman, 157, 197
 Tennyson, Lord, 243-4
 Thackeray, W. M., 217, 243, 266
 Theophrastan Character, 170-2
 Thornhill, Sir J., 196
 Tragedy, language of, 9; implications of,
 19; pleasures of, 213-14
 Traherne, Thomas, 180
 Trollope, Anthony, 259, 272
 Tudor Theories of History Writing,
 173-4

 Vaughan, Henry, 179-80

 Walpole, Horace, 218-9, 271
 Walton, Izaak, 184
 Webster, John, 155-6
 Wessex, Rise of, 56
 Williams, Charles, Essays presented to,
 22
 Withie, William, 116
 Whitman, Walt, 263
 Words, 43-6
 Wordsworth, William, 229-30
 Wyatt, Sir Thomas, 113-4
 Wynkyn de Worde, 277

 Yeats, W. B., 255
 Young, Edward, 225

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